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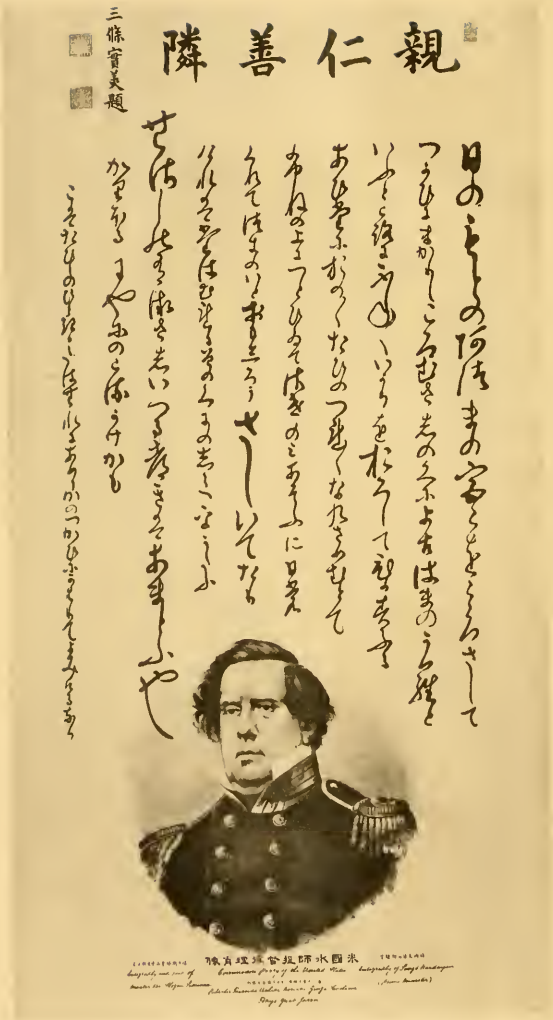
A General Meeeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the American Embassy, Tokyo, at 4 p.m., Wednesday, June 16. In the absence of the President, H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, the Chair was taken by Prof. E. H. Vickers, Vice-President for Tokyo. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced that a catalogue of the books in the Library of the Society had been published; and that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Dr. Will Wrchovsky, Vienna, Austria; Post Wheeler, Esq., American Embassy, Tokyo, and John Reilly, Esq., Salem, N.J., U.S.A. He also made the following announcement:—

Mr. Wilfred Bertram Cuningham, Assistant in the British Consular Service in Japan, has presented to the Society a translation made by him of the Table of Contents of the Imperial Household Department's History of the Opening of the Country (*Kaikoku Kigen*). This work, in three volumes, numbering 2943 pages and embracing over 700 official documents, was presented to the Society last year through Dr. D. C. Greene, as announced at the time. The table of contents occupies 44 pages of small Japanese type. The English translation will greatly facilitate reference to the work by foreigners engaged in historical research.

The Chairman then informed the audience how, by the kindness of Prof. F. Wells Williams, of Yale University, his father's "Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853, 1854)" had been placed at the disposal of the Asiatic Society of Japan. He also expressed the pleasure and honour felt by the Society in being able to include such a valuable document among its Transactions. He then called on the Recording Secretary, who read selections from the Journal.

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Portrait of Commodore Perry with autographs of Sanjo Nai-daijin, then Prime Minister, and Shōzan Sakuma.

A JOURNAL

OF THE

PERRY EXPEDITION TO JAPAN

(1853-1854)

BY

Samuel
S. WELLS WILLIAMS, 1812-1884.

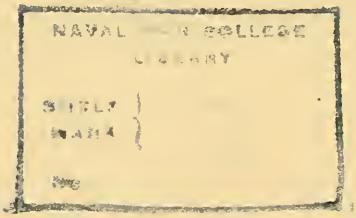
FIRST INTERPRETER OF THE EXPEDITION

EDITED BY HIS SON

Frederick Wells
F. W. WILLIAMS

1910

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PREFATORY NOTE.

Samuel Wells Williams, the author of this Journal, was born in the town of Utica, New York State, September 23, 1813, the eldest child of a publisher and man of affairs of some note in a flourishing settlement on the great highway of early immigration along the Mohawk valley to the West. The son of New England ancestry, he was brought up in the wholesome but rigorous fashion of the Puritans. He manifested at an early age the strong religious feeling that characterized him throughout life, but he seems at no time to have contemplated a career in the church, his chief ambition being to become a scientist. It was while preparing himself in Troy for a position as teacher of botany that an offer came to him from the American Board to take charge of the Mission Press that had been set up in Canton. After some months of hasty preparation for his new task, he set sail for China, arriving at the anchorage off Whampoa a few weeks after he had completed his twenty-first year. His life as a missionary during twenty-three years, with the exception of one visit home, was spent as superintendent of the press in editing the monthly periodical, the "Chinese Repository," and in the preparation of a dictionary and grammar of the Cantonese dialect. During his stay in America between 1845 and 1848, he wrote and published the "Middle Kingdom," a work which for more than sixty years has remained the chief source of reference and of information upon the country and people of China.

Mr. Williams' busy but uneventful life in the Factory in Canton was interrupted in the summer of 1837 by an invitation

to join the attempt on the part of a generous American merchant to return seven shipwrecked Japanese sailors to the Bay of Yedo in the ship "Morrison." The experiment ended, as is well known, in utter failure so far as its immediate object was concerned, but the experience both broadened the mind of the young missionary and stimulated him to a study of the Japanese language and people which aroused an interest that never left him. It is difficult for us to-day to understand the indifference and ignorance of the Western world concerning Japan in the early nineteenth century. Despite the information which was accessible through the works of Dutch authors, there seems to have been a popular notion that the island empire was a semi-civilized derelict among the nations of the East that might at any time succumb to the power willing to undertake the expense of conquering it. Its remote position and a sense of the cost and difficulties of the task probably saved the country from the hazard of such an attempt. Through his acquaintance with these Japanese sailors and with the available literature upon their country, Mr. Williams was disposed to rate Japan and its people rather above the Chinese in both strength and culture. He apprehended most seriously the fatal influences of a warlike attempt upon the nation, and after his return to China set himself to the task of studying Japanese with two of the sailors who were employed in his printing office, desirous at once of giving them a means to earn their livelihood and of acquiring a fuller knowledge of their country. His account of the trip of the "Morrison" appears in the September and December numbers of the "Chinese Repository" for 1837. As the periodical is not easily consulted now, it may be of interest to quote some of his reflections upon the failure of one of the finest bits of altruism that marks the intercourse of West and East:—

"In summing up the circumstances attendant upon both attempts, and comparing them with what we could learn of previous trials, it was instructive to observe how gradually the Japanese Government has gone on in perfecting its system of

seclusion, and how the mere lapse of time has indurated, instead of disintegrating, the wall of prejudice and misanthropy which surrounds their policy. These circumstances also indicated their present feelings, for we could refer the greater part of what had happened alone to the Government. . . A people who show the decision of character of the Japanese, silently erecting their batteries to drive away their enemies by force of arms, and bringing their cannon several miles to plant in a favourable position, are not to be lightly despised or insulted with impunity. If the immediate aggressor escapes, vengeance usually lights upon some unwary and innocent straggler, and the mutual hatred is thus increased. At Satsuma a pilot is sent to bring the ship into an anchorage, and the officers are made acquainted with our object, which they apparently approve. It would seem that here, too, great distrust of foreigners existed, from the report that the people took us for pirates: and a rumor of such marauders in these regions must have reached their ears. The men (the shipwrecked Japanese on board) repeatedly told the officers that they need only tell us to depart and we would go; but that before dismissing us, we requested to be supplied with fresh provisions. Yet a hundred or more men are commissioned to drive out a defenceless vessel with cannon and musquetry, and commence their attack, too, at a time when we should be in great jeopardy as soon as the anchor was off the ground. What course of conduct would have been pursued by the Japanese if ours had been an armed vessel, it is impossible to say; but I am more than ever rejoiced, now the experiment has been made, that no cannon were carried. However, towards a people who thus manifest decision of counsels and reliance upon their own resources, although exerted in a barbarous and savage manner, and on occasion when kindness was meant, a degree of respect and deference is paid. . . . They now regard foreigners as ready to pounce upon their country the moment it should be opened, and before they consent to receive them they must be assured that those who

seek their ports are peaceable friends. They can derive no just idea of other nations, or of their enterprise, commerce, and philanthropy from what they see of foreign trade, cabined and reduced as it is by their laws; and who expects them to come with open arms and request free intercourse before they are acquainted with the benefits they would derive from it? . . Because one attempt has failed, shall all future endeavours cease? We learn wisdom from experience. The rejection of the men, though painful to them and to us, may be the very best thing that could have happened: for if they had been received and we quietly dismissed, our means for doing them and their countrymen further good would have been taken out of our hands. In this view of the case, and it appears reasonable, let us not abandon this nation; but by making the best use of the men whom we have, get better prepared to do them permanent good; and, 'By and bye,' if God permits, and as Otokichi says, 'we will try again.'"

The hopes revealed in this expression of a youth of twenty-five remained in the man of one and forty when invited by Commodore Perry to serve as Interpreter on his expedition to Japan. He was well aware of his unfitness to take a position of this responsibility, but there were grounds, sufficiently justified in the event, to suppose that the Japanese would provide interpreters of their own with enough knowledge of Dutch to carry on negotiations. His familiarity with Chinese would render him a useful check (if nothing more) in the discussions to be expected. But the convincing reason that decided him to suspend, at a time when he could be ill spared, his professional duties in the printing office, was the opportunity thus afforded to plead for moderation with the sole arbiter of the expedition, and to explain whenever possible to the Japanese the justice of the American demands. It is evident from the journal that he experienced some disappointment in both of these expected opportunities for usefulness. The Commodore was a man of determination, accustomed to the unquestioned obedience

demanded on ship-board and seeking no suggestion from subordinates. Happily he had some of the best qualities of a statesman, if not of a diplomatist, and his plans had been carefully prepared beforehand. He was sincerely desirous of securing every available item of information about Japan, but shrewdly resolved to assess and sift each one for himself. The missionary, though not without some experience of men, was a man of books rather than of affairs. He chafed a little under the unaccustomed rigour of naval discipline and resented the seeming godlessness. Intercourse between the two men so widely separated by their antecedents, at first only formal and professional, eventually became more cordial, as they understood one another better, and ripened at length into mutual respect. There are several passages in the pages which follow that show signs of passing irritation at Perry's lack of frankness, or his indifference to things which his Interpreter held as sacred, and these are not without their value as side lights upon the Commodore's character, but in the end the verdict of a careful and exacting observer was favourable. The best friend the Japanese had in the squadron became convinced that they would suffer no evil from a man of Perry's principles, and he maintained through his life a feeling of profound gratitude that such a man had been providentially designed to perform this difficult mission. If he was one who admitted none to his councils, he at least needed no prompting to be just.

So far as his personal intercourse with the Japanese was concerned, Mr. Williams' hopes were not fulfilled. He anticipated opportunities of frank discussion with minor officials by which he might explain to them the peaceful objects of the expedition and incidentally inform them of the world outside their empire, but the thraldom of the Tokugawa tyranny was too severe to make this possible. While the political situation is clear to us to-day, it was by no means so at that time. He felt, though he could not comprehend, the pressure of a system which pervaded the very atmosphere and pressed upon the

meanest subject. Yet while deploring their mysterious reticence, he sympathised with the wistful attitude of the only Asiatic people that appeared to possess a feeling of patriotism, as the West understands the word; and he would have counselled them gladly had they been willing. "You must give us more time," he quoted Moriyama as saying: "It is all very plain to you, but we are like people coming out of a dark room into the glare of sunshine, and we do not yet see the bearing of things clearly." To coerce a high-spirited people like this with another Opium War would be to set back the cause of Christian civilization in the Orient for centuries: for "their soldiers," he wrote a few years later in reviewing the opening of Japan, "once formed the body-guard of the King of Siam; their consuls once examined Spanish ships in Acapulco; their sailors once took a Dutch governor out of his house in Formosa and carried him prisoner to their rulers; their princes once sent an embassy to the Pope; their Emperor once defied the vengeance of Portugal by executing her ambassadors. The knowledge of these historical events remains among them." To one so well informed and keenly appreciative it was an anxious experience to both watch and participate in a political *coup d'essai* the fearful possibilities in which were but dimly understood by either side.

The outspoken manner in which certain traits and actions of the Commodore are criticised in the journal herewith printed is quite remarkable, when it is remembered that every writing of the sort kept by members of the expedition was requisitioned at its end by the Commander-in-Chief. So far as is known, this is the only diary kept on board a ship of the squadron which he did not personally examine, though this cannot, of course, be proven. From allusions contained in some of his letters to the author it would appear that the Commodore desired him to write a book on Japan after the Narrative of his Expedition should be published; it may be that, in consequence of this wish, it was intimated from the first that the manuscript would not be

demanded. Whatever the cause, the result has produced, probably, the frankest estimate of the man that exists. But while some of this is unflattering, and the Commodore might have winced a little had he read it, the judgment is eminently favourable when summed up. There are certain pages of the manuscript which the author revised and condensed at a later date, presumably with a view to its publication in part; but the project, if ever seriously entertained, was evidently abandoned. For his own part he was under no illusions as to his personal qualifications for compiling a popular account of the Japanese Empire. He possessed no especial felicity in style and had no fondness for writing as an exercise or occupation; nor was there much opportunity in his busy life to greatly extend the range of his interests and study the culture of Japan as he had that of China. Upon the recommendation of friends in America, endorsed by Commodore Perry, he was appointed in 1855, without his own knowledge, to the post of Secretary to the United States Legation in China, and in this position remained twenty-two years. During this second half of his long residence in Asia his professional and linguistic duties left him no time for serious interests outside of the land wherein his life-work seemed to lie.

Two points may be briefly considered before concluding this prefatory note. The author of the Journal makes no claim to having influenced by his suggestions any part of Perry's diplomacy. Yet the various points in the treaty proposed to the Japanese were discussed before him, and it was owing to his representations that the Most Favoured Nation clause was inserted in the document, and one providing extra-territoriality omitted. The former provision was doubtless prompted by his experience as Interpreter in the Wanghia Treaty negotiations under Caleb Cushing in 1844, and its omission in this compact might well have made the task of Townsend Harris, surrounded as he was with unexpected obstacles, one of superhuman difficulty. The latter had been proposed by Perry, but Mr. Williams during his residence in China had been so deeply

impressed with the hardship involved upon a civilized nation in requiring an abrogation of its judicial authority, that he persuaded the Commodore to withdraw it from his draft. It may be contended, indeed, that such an attitude was sentimental—that the lives of foreigners throughout the *Strum und Drang* period of the Restoration in Japan would hardly have been worth a rush without its provision; yet the fact that he seriously wished to see another principle tried proves the sincerity of his high opinion of Japanese policy. It had no practical result, for the claim was exacted by other Western nations and its provisions accrued to all; but he was gratified when the Commodore considered his reasoning cogent, and the clause did not remain.

The other point referred to concerns a discussion in Dr. Nitobe's "Intercourse between the United States and Japan" (1891) involving Commodore Perry's indebtedness in constructing his treaty to the draft of a compact presented by Donker Curtius to the Governor of Nagasaki in November, 1852. It is expressly stated in the Introduction to the official Narrative of the Expedition that "this draft was unknown to the Americans;" nor is much reliance to be placed upon the quotations Dr. Nitobe makes in support of the bellicose attitude of Perry based upon Siebold's mendacious "Eroffnung Japans." It is fairly logical to surmise that, if there had been any knowledge of a Dutch treaty in the American fleet, the Interpreter would have heard of it and mentioned it in his journal.

Some interest may attach here to the few words of generous commendation contained in the parting letter from Commodore Perry to Mr. Williams, written in September, 1845, as he was leaving Hongkong:—"In taking my departure from China I feel myself called upon by every sense of propriety and justice to bear the most ample testimony to the talents, zeal, and fidelity with which you conducted the important duties entrusted to your management as Chief Interpreter of the Mission to Japan. I say little when I declare that your services were almost indispensable to me in the successful progress of the

delicate business which had been entrusted to my charge. With high abilities, untiring industry, and a conciliating disposition, you are the very man to be employed in such business."* And to this personal tribute may fitly be added the author's own declaration, pronounced before the foreign residents of Shanghai soon after the news reached them that Townsend Harris had practically completed Perry's work, that "it is a triumph, in this time of the world's history, to know that intercourse with Japan has been reopened by Christian nations without injury to a single individual in the empire, without browbeating or threatening its government, and I believe with the general consent of the people. Treaties signed at its capital successively with the Ministers of the United States, Holland, Great Britain and France, attest the success of the policy commenced by Commodore Perry. Though their compacts supersede his, and that of Admiral Stirling of 1855, I wish to place his negotiations as their basis, and it is a gratification to learn that the Japanese officials remember him with respect."

F. W. Williams.

New Haven, Conn., April, 1909.

* Quoted in the Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams (1889), p, 229.





Dr. S. Wells Williams.
(From a Japanese print of the period.)

A JOURNAL OF THE PERRY EXPEDITION TO JAPAN.

(1853-1854)

By S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

On the 9th of April, 1853, I received a request from Commodore Perry to accompany him to Japan as interpreter, he wishing to have me ready by the 21st, on which day he intended to sail. On his reaching Canton, I had an interview with him, and learned that he had made no application to the Secretaries at Boston respecting assistance of this sort, nor informed them of his intentions; he said that this never occurred to him, for he had repeatedly heard in the United States that I wished to join the expedition, and would be ready on his arrival in China to leave. Dr. Bridgman was with me at this interview, and we spoke of various topics connected with the enterprise taken in hand to improve the intercourse with Japan, from which we inferred that this first visit this year was intended to chiefly ascertain the temper of the Japanese in respect to the propositions which would be submitted to them. At any rate, no hostilities were determined on except, indeed, to repel an attack or actual aggression, for many vessels of the squadron had not

reached China yet, and he wished to make an experimental visit first. He added that he had refused to employ Von Siebold as interpreter, because he wished to keep the place for me—doubtless a compliment to me, but not very wise in him, so far as efficient intercourse with the Japanese went.

In conclusion, I told him that unless I could get some person to take charge of my printing office I could not possibly leave Canton. At the next meeting of the mission, held April 20th, it was concluded that Mr. Bonney leave his station at New Town and find somebody to take the house, if possible, and take charge of my printing office while I was absent; he intended, if possible, to get Mr. Beach or Mr. Cox, if not both, to occupy the house, but in this he failed.

I went to see Commodore Perry the next day and told him that I would go with him till October, and could not be ready to leave before the 5th to 10th of May in consequence of the various matters necessary to be attended to. It was recommended to him to get a lithographic press in order to assist in promulgating the wishes of the American people and let the people know what we had come for; to this he agreed, and I purchased an iron press of Mr. Lucas for $120, which I hope will be a good outlay. I stipulated, too, that I should not be called on to work on the Sabbath, and should have comfortable accommodations on board ship. Moreover, I stated to the Commodore that I had never learned much more than to speak with ignorant Japanese sailors, who were unable to read even their own books, and practice in even this imperfect medium had been suspended for nearly nine years, during which time I had no one to talk with; he therefore must not expect great proficiency in me, but I would do the best I could. In my own mind I was almost decided not to go at any rate, on account of the little knowledge I had of Japanese literature and speech, and am now not sure that I have been rightly persuaded by friends to go. It is strange to me how attention has been directed to me as the interlocutor and interpreter for the commander of the

Japanese expedition, not only from people hereabouts, but from the United States. I certainly have not sought the place, nor did I expect more than to be consulted as to the best mode of filling it.

All my preparations being made, and my teacher appearing with his baggage, I left Canton May 6th, in the steamer for Macao, to join the "Saratoga" and sail to Lewchew. I was greatly annoyed on getting aboard to find that the lithographic press and materials were not there; but it came down by fast-boat before sailing, for I found that Captain Walker would not sail till Tuesday in consequence of the want of bread, and Mr. Bonney forwarded it on Friday evening. I spent a few days at Macao very pleasantly, and on the forenoon of Tuesday, the 10th of May, I set foot on board ship and sailed on the evening of the 11th, nearly sixteen years since I left in the "Morrison" for the same region. Of my fellow passengers then, Mr. King, Mr. Gutzlaff, Captain Ingersoll and three of the Japanese are dead. It was mentioned by Commodore Perry that I had a strong inducement to go with him from having been in that ship, as the inhospitable treatment received by the "Morrison" was to form one of the reclamations of the present visit. How vast a change has happened in the politics of China since that cruise in opening her principal ports and commencing a freer intercourse with her people! When we returned in August, 1837, not a port on the Chinese coast was accessible, and nothing known of their capabilities.

Wednesday, May 11th.—We were to sail to-day, but an untoward event this morning delayed the ship. One of the crew had been locked up in the cell yesterday in consequence of his outrageous conduct when under the influence of spirits, of which he evidently had taken a large quantity. He was an active seaman, but quite ungovernable while possessed with rum, and his conduct merited punishment. This morning he was found dead in his chair inside of the cell, greatly to the surprise of all, for he had been visited only a few minutes before, when he refused his breakfast.

An examination into the circumstances showed that he had taken a bottle of brandy out of the spirit-room while at work there, and, lest he should be detected, he had drank it nearly all off within a few minutes (half an hour), making excuses to get away from the room to take a draught out of the bottle. He soon became ungovernable, and was shut up in a cell where his noisy bawling and singing disturbed all the watch during the night and showed that he was still unfit to be liberated. He died without a struggle, probably of some interference in the action of the heart. The corpse was taken ashore in the afternoon by a boat's crew, having been encoffined and carried around the ship before the assembled crew, the marines presenting arms and others uncovering as the body passed by. So he died, this James Welsh, as a fool dieth; for no "drunkard can inherit the kingdom of heaven." Yet the grog bucket is daily brought on deck, and all who please take a cupful of the mixture, which tends to strengthen the appetite and confirm everyone in habits of intemperance. It is unfair to them, for the crew could easily be shipped without its promise; and it is unfair to the officers, for the source of trouble is continued, while they are forbidden to whip those who may offend.

Saturday, May 14th.—We are now fairly on the way to Lewchew, and are likely to have a head-wind all the way up the Formosa channel.

I am hardly able to compose my thoughts yet to study or read to much purpose, for the novelty of the place, the number of people about, and the motion tend to distract me. I have begun to look over some phrases in Japanese which Giusaboro wrote many years ago. The more I think of it, the less satisfaction do I find in the prospect before me; it was none of my own seeking, however, and I can only do my best.

The news from Shanghai of the insurgents being in full possession of Nanking, which they were fortifying with Chinkiang and Yangchou-fu is trifling compared with the reports brought by Mr. Meadows of their camp being governed entirely

on the purest Christian principles, that they are Christians in all respects, and take the Bible for their rule of action, observe the Sabbath and preach a pure monotheism to all those around them. If half we hear proves to be true, truly a new day is dawning on China.

Sunday, May 15th.—There were no services held to-day of a public nature; no work was done, and generally the ship was quiet, men engaged in reading. It is a bad arrangement which leaves the holding of public services so completely in the hands of the commander, though, as we have no national church, it is not easy to say what rules could be laid down on this subject.

I have been thinking, in respect to the supposed successful result of this expedition, how soon the merchants in China would try the sale of opium along the coasts of Japan, and do all they could to induce the people of the country to consume it. How to avert such a sad result is beyond my sagacity, for no laws can reach the appetites of a people, no scruples will embarrass the seller in placing the temptation before them, and their moral principles are not likely to stand against a seductive luxury. This view would be more saddening if one did not remember that the mixture of good and evil in this world is necessary for the development of the probationary plan on which this world is governed, and that God overrules all and will make the wrath and avarice of man to praise him at last.

Friday, May 20th.—On Tuesday a strong wind arose from the north, causing the ship to pitch and roll about in the chopped sea caused by the same wind making everybody uncomfortable, and me sea-sick. I was soon unable to do anything but lie as still as the jerking of the vessel would allow, and passed a most uncomfortable day. The violence and direction of the wind induced the captain to change his course about noon and steer for the Bashees. Next morning the wind had ceased, leaving us under the lee of the Pescadore Islands, and about 3 p.m. the breeze sprung up from the eastward, as completely heading us off on

our course through the Bashee passage as it had up the Formosa Channel. Yesterday, it was nearly calm all day, but this morning a light, two-knot breeze sprung up. For three days the men have been drilled by one of the marines and marched up and down the quarter-deck; this is to make them expert at the musket and ready for an emergency. Among other things, they have been firing at a mark hung up at the yardarm, which most of them hit--it being a board painted like a man and not a difficult target.

I have been looking over the Japanese phrases I once wrote out with Giusaboro, but they do not easily recur to mind. I have forgotten almost all the phrases I once had at my tongue's end, and am afraid that nine years' cessation from using the language has obliterated most of it from my memory.

Tuesday, May 24th.—The weather and wind were pleasant and favorable till yesterday morning, carrying us forward at a rapid rate along the eastern shores of Formosa; we had a distant sight of the south end of Formosa and of Botel Tobago-sima, too far to see anything more than their outline, however; no other land has since been seen. Yesterday morning, the moon was full, and a change of weather took place, the wind coming from the northeast with rain and squall, and making everything and everybody uncomfortable. We are southeast of the Madjico-sima group, and find a northwest current setting us off to leeward, which is somewhat unexpected. Perhaps this current is formed by the wind blowing down the coast and, meeting the streams which debouch into the Yellow Sea, is driven off into the Pacific between Formosa and Lewchew.

Such motion disorders one who is yet unused to it, and I find it almost impossible to attend to anything satisfactorily. Old Sieh lies abed most of the time and seems to be getting weak and heady from the motion and confinement; he is old, and that indisposes him to exertion, besides the weakness which he feels from the disuse of his opium or tobacco. I begin to be almost afraid he will not prove of much service to me, but I

hope I shall be able to get him recruited by a visit on shore at Napa. I have been aboard ship now a fortnight, and a greater change can hardly have passed over me than to compare the life I have had all the spring at Canton with this tossing, queasy and confined life in the "Saratoga." I suppose I shall be comforted for all this discomfort by being told that "it will do you good"; but I shall be pleased to have it do me no hurt.

Thursday, May 26th.—We made land yesterday afternoon, and not wishing to get in too near, stood off to southeast with a light breeze; but when we drew toward it again at sunrise, we knew not the land, as it did not agree with any view laid down on the charts, and it was not until we had drawn up along its western side, opening one island after another, that we ascertained that the ship was westward of the Amakirrima Islands, to which we had been drifted by a strong westerly current during the night. We had passed by so as to open the main island, when we saw the two steamers coming up on the northwest, the "Susquehanna" taking the lead and the "Mississippi" a mile or so astern. We gradually wore up, having a scant wind, and when Napa opened were far to the northwest, and to leeward, with small prospect of getting in to an anchor. After the steamers went in, a shift of wind enabled us to lay in from the northwest, and by sunset we reached the place and dropped anchor within a cable of where Ingersoll placed the "Morrison" almost sixteen years ago (July 11, 1837), and found a patch of ten feet, which I am glad to see that Beechey's chart has called very properly "Ingersoll's patch." The feelings arising in one's mind at returning here and remembering the party and their hopes, with whom I was then connected, are of a mixed character; the residence of Dr. Bettelheim and his family is a great advance on the position of things then, and this is the entering wedge of more extended operations of others.

Friday, May 27th.—At 9 o'clock Captain Walker and I went aboard of the "Susquehanna" where we found Mr. Jones, Bittenger and Bettelheim engaged to breakfast with Commodore

Perry. We discussed various things at the table, and after breakfast Bettelheim made known to me his ideas of things as he had already spoken of them to the Commodore. His position and opportunities for intercourse have greatly improved during the last few months, and many restrictions have been removed; he has visited the north part of the island, and the people are not ordered away as they used to be. About ten o'clock Lieutenant Contee* and I went ashore with him to see the local magistrate (地方官) of Napa† and tell him the reason why the presents he sent to the "Susquehanna" were refused. We landed near Capstan Point and went up to Bettelheim's house, where we waited while the messenger went to announce our visit to the "Mayor of Napa," as Bettelheim calls him. Meanwhile we talked with Bettelheim and his family; he has three children, one of them born here, and lives in a pretty comfortable way—at least it looked so in the bright sunshine. In an hour and a half it was announced that he (the Mayor) was approaching the *kung kwan*, having gone to the other hall near the jetty. We saw, on entering the place, a considerable group of well-dressed people, and the old mayor came forward and bowed. He was a venerable looking man of 62, dressed in yellow robes. We took seats, and I informed him through an interpreter that we had come on the most friendly grounds, and wished to have amicable intercourse; that we declined the presents for the reason that none were allowed to be received by our laws, and we wished to buy our supplies. We also wished to see the 總理官, or Regent, on board ship to-morrow, and would there tell him what our wishes were and how long we were to remain here probably. He could not say whether the Regent would come off, but made no opposition to the request; it was also intimated that a house would be wanted ashore for a hospital. This hint caused some stir among the retinue, but all feeling was repressed. During the interview pipes, tea and refresh-

* Flag Lieutenant of the Fleet.

† Modern Naha or Napa.

ments were handed about, and every civility was offered us. The groups forming around us from time to time were very picturesque; silently looking on or else whispering among themselves, they walked around or squatted down, there being no other chairs besides ours. The room was matted and open to the air, inclosed in a yard defined by coral walls, the whole forming a pleasant-enough place for conferences. In three quarters of an hour we left and returned to the boat, the mayor accompanying us to the gateway and the silent crowd still looking on. The street is one of the largest in the town, and many groups were stationed here and there at the entrances of houses; coral walls defined the grounds around each dwelling, and gave rather a dull appearance to the avenue, though it was lively enough now with people.

We reported progress to the Commodore, and at dinner with him I met Lieutenants Hunter and Randolph. A room is preparing for me on the taffrail of the steamer, in which I shall be comfortable in warm weather. During the day no one but the party sent has been ashore, but the boats have visited the reef and picked up shells and other things.

Satuday, May 28th.—About ten o'clock the Commodore sent a boat for me and my teacher, but on reaching the flagship I was surprised to receive a letter from his hands, written by Bettelheim, couched in the strangest style of entreaty and advice respecting the conduct of the expected visit of the Regent to the flagship, and concluding with the hope that the natives would not come near the ship, which I myself more than thought would be the upshot of it, for no promise could be given by the persons I saw yesterday. It was about the oddest mélange I ever read from Bettelheim, whom the Commodore had sent for and who ere long reached the ship. He soon was all in motion, and it was about concluded that if the Regent came off Commodore Perry should not see him. However, about twelve and a half o'clock he was announced and Captain Buchanan took him into his cabin; he was accompanied by the interpreter I saw

yesterday and several other officials, some with yellow and their attendants with red caps, while the Regent himself had a striped cap, all of them of a square shape, like a blacksmith's paper cap. Only the chief man sent his card, 琉球國中山府尙大謨. A few formal compliments were passed, and Captain Buchanan rose to conduct him about the ship, which took about an hour or so and rather exhausted the old gentleman. The whole party showed considerable interest in the vessel and its inhabitants, which indeed must have amazed them if they have human ideas. The Commodore, after reflection, concluded to receive them in his cabin, and though I had for a little while been swayed by what Bettelheim had said, I was not sorry that he saw them, for the party came at his invitation to see him, and why not receive them? They had brought a trifling present of two cakes and two jars of spirits which were to be accepted, and it was meet to thank him. All came into the cabin, and having been seated, it was told them that their visit was received as a mark of kind respect, that the American nation entertained the most amicable feelings towards Lewchew, and that the present visit was to open further intercourse with it. The proximity of the two countries across the Pacific Ocean was stated, and something said of California and its gold. Refreshments were handed around and all partook, wine and cake being articles intelligible to all, and the Regent's attendants brought in pipes, the Commodore taking one with him. He seemed half stupefied at times, but it was probably amazement at his novel position, for he was frequently speaking to the interpreter. A motion to rise induced Perry to say that he should be ready to return the visit on the 6th proximo at the capital in Shui, 首里,* and thank him for his civilities. Excuses were offered that it was far, that the King was sick, that the visit was a mere form and the presents contemptible and beneath notice. However, it was stated that propriety required him (Perry) to return the visit, and he should not fail. The decorum of these

* Modern Shuri.

islanders on board, and their subdued way of looking about did them credit. A barometer was shown them, a revolving pistol too, and the rudder was moved to and fro, the tiller ropes having attracted their attention. Nothing was here said respecting a house on shore, and all conversation with them on general topics was very slow and almost impracticable from their anxiety and the tedious line of communication. The Regent rose and left the cabin, and when on deck Captain Buchanan took him into his own room, there to take a glass of wine, and would have kept him a while, but he seemed to be desirous of going. The band played several airs which pleased them all, and the marines drawn up in order, the huge guns and large balls on deck were objects of great interest. The party left after a visit of about two hours; a few of them seemed to enjoy it, but such a melancholy set of faces, fixed, grave and sad, as if going to execution, was hardly ever before seen on board the "Susquehanna." Bettelheim talked a good deal, and his way of making signs and motioning with his face was very much disliked and wrongly interpreted. I hardly know what to think of the man, for he whisks about in his opinion like a weathercock, and after the Regent had gone said it was the best thing which could have been done, to see the Commodore, though his letter of four pages was to urge the contrary.

After dinner we went ashore to B.'s house where Mr. Barry made out a list of provisions, to be given in to the flagship tomorrow. Major Zeilen also went to see a level place where he could drill his marines, and from that we visited the tombs of some foreigners buried on shore. I also left Sieh on shore at B.'s house to recruit a little.

Sunday, May 29th.—It rained all day, and I remained aboard the "Saratoga" unable to go to service in the "Mississippi" where it was thought there would be no preaching. Bettelheim sent back Sieh in the boat which brought the provisions to the "Susquehanna," and wrote a letter to Commodore Perry

about interpreters. In the evening I took Sieh to the flagship and gave him in charge to Achin, Perry's servant, by whom he will be cared for.

Monday, May 30th.—The drizzling rain of yesterday cleared off with a pleasant sky, and enabled the "Caprice" to get in to her anchorage this morning. She has not had very pleasant weather and leaks in her deck. I saw Mr. Maury soon after his arrival, and was glad to see him looking so well. The Commodore sent an order on board ship to-day by Bettleheim for Mr. Goldsboro,* Mr. Harris and myself to accompany him ashore and get a house for the transaction of business. This order certainly carries with it a decided tone, and I am not so sure how we shall manage in carrying it out. However, we went off, Mr. Madizan, Lowrie and Stockton going with us. Mr. Bettelheim took us along the street beyond the bridge at Tumai, the same which I remembered to have passed by when we came ashore in this direction from the "Morrison" the morning after we anchored. About half a mile from the landing place he came to a public hall which we entered after the door had been opened by persons crawling over the wall. A messenger was straightway dispatched for the mayor of Napa, and after waiting an hour or more the interpreter alone came with two constables, or lower officers, to whom we made known the Commodore's application for a place on shore convenient to remain at and see about matters connected with provisioning the ships. The request seemed strange to them, and they said it was a better way for us to give lists of things wanted, and the articles would be brought off. We rejoined that it seemed but decorous, after the Regent's visit to the "Susquehanna," that a convenient place should be rented on shore from whence men could be sent to each ship with what was wanted. The interpreter said there was no place fit for us, there was none vacant, there was no need of such a place and that the house we were in was

* Lieutenant John R. Goldsborough of the "Saratoga."

a schoolroom, as indeed we saw it was partly used for some such purpose. We talked to and fro in this way a long time, Adjirashi,* the interpreter, at last going off to see the mayor, while we remained for his answer. It was then concluded that, as it was expedient to make a right out of our might, so we had better, if we wished to get a house at all, keep possession of this; two of us were therefore sent back to get bedding and our dinners, while I went to report at headquarters, where in truth I got but little satisfaction or even approbation. On returning ashore, the messenger had not yet come back; but while Mr. Goldsboro' and others were on their way to the boat they met him and returned to the hall where many native officers were still tarrying. His answer was to the same effect, and he could only still protest against our occupying the dwelling, notwithstanding he saw the bedding and other preparations we had made for remaining. It was a struggle between weakness and right and power and wrong, for a more highhanded piece of aggression has not been committed by anyone. I was ashamed at having been a party to such a procedure, and pitied these poor, defenseless islanders who could only say no. No one was incommoded by the act, indeed; but perhaps the towns-people of Tumai felt it all the more keenly, and I pitied them heartily.

Mr. Stockton and I were soon left alone with our three Chinese, for after Mr. Goldsboro left the house the native officers retired, and we made ourselves as comfortable as we could on the thick mats which covered the floor; but the fleas and mosquitoes would not permit us to sleep, and the Chinese walked about all night. A large company of Lewchewans occupied the other rooms and kept watch over us, if the insects let them do so, for the men were very still except an occasional hum. The dawn showed that it was time to rise, and I was glad to get

* Spelt Ichirazichi in the Narrative of the Expedition. The medium of communication was Chinese.

into the fresh air and terminate my first night in Lewchew, the unwilling agent, in so doing, of violence and wrong.

Tuesday, May 31st.—Mr. Lowrie came ere long to relieve us, and when I reached the ship I heard Mr. Goldsboro' say that Perry approved of all we had done and was decided to keep the house, and was going to send two or three invalids there to keep possession. During the forenoon he (Goldsboro') went to the house to see about arranging for the comfort of the invalids, and while he was there the mayor of Napa came in with the interpreter, Idjirashi, and had a long talk with him respecting it. This man (the interpreter) has had considerable instruction from Mr. Bettelheim and during the talk he made out to converse on many topics, referring to places in China, countries in Europe, America, etc. He said he had heard of Washington as being a good man, but he thought Washington would not have done so. A written protest was handed in to make known to the Commodore the desires of the authorities in regard to the house, couched in respectful terms, in which, however, were two or three misstatements.

The general feeling on the whole among the people seems to be more and more favorable to us, and they are learning a few things gradually. The constant presence of officers and men ashore familiarizes them with us, and the crowds of idle people are as large as ever. Boatloads of visitors throng the flagship and the crew are glad to show them this and that.

Wednesday, June 1st.—Went ashore with Purser Parry, when we learned that the authorities will not acknowledge our presence in the house we have taken, and provisions must be forwarded thro' their purveyors who will receive lists from Bettelheim only. It is surprising what a degree of quiet resistance an organized government like this can offer to violence, without any overt act of violence, without giving any excuse for wrong by doing the like themselves. They feel their weakness and have no intention probably of resisting by force; but the complete sway they have over the common people enables them

to wield what power they have to the best advantage. I need cite only one fact: wishing to go to the "Saratoga", I hailed a boat which had just left the steamer and went in her; as she left to go ashore I threw a bunch of cash into the boat, but it was with much trouble brought aboard, tho' it could have been divided among them without one being more interested in keeping it secret than another. We went up to the house to bring away a sedan-chair for Perry's use, and found all quiet. Captains Buchanan and Adams were there and had brought Perry's answer to the petition to Goldsboro' sent in yesterday. On the way back to the boat one of the Chinese carrying it stopped to look at a market by the roadside, and his contemptuous look at the beggarly assortment of leaves, pottery, fuel and eatables was not more amusing than the gaping wonder of the women and people at his gigantic height (6 ft. 2 in.) compared with their Lilliputian size. I never before saw such a lot of hags together as in this market.

After having put Perry's answer into Chinese, old Sieh went ashore by mistake, and in his stupid way was left behind, and had some trouble in getting the natives to take him aboard. I supposed he would have gone to Bettelheim's house instead; he does not recruit much, and I am afraid will die.

The "Caprice" goes to-morrow and many are sending their clothes over to Shanghai to be washed, as there is little prospect of getting it done here. The letter-bag takes Bettelheim's first letter sent off for eleven months, besides $800 sent over to put in the bank there to his credit—his "own sweat and blood"' he says. He says that he has not been able to come to any explicit understanding with the rulers or people as to the price of the provisions he consumes; they bring food and he lays down money, and no accounts are drawn out. He eats what they bring, they take away what he lays down.

Thursday, June 2nd.—I moved my baggage over to the "Susquehanna" before breakfast and spent some time in getting to rights there. After copying out the reply to the mayor's

petition I went ashore with Bettelheim with it, and after waiting a short time we were informed that he was waiting to receive it at the town hall. (Commodore Perry had sent a cake to Mrs. B., and the children were eager to get a taste.) On reaching the town hall we were much surprised to see the Regent there, and a feast spread out on five tables, with a large crowd of officials in attendance, the whole indicating considerable expectation for somebody. I went in and handed the paper to the mayor, who was seated at the table, and said that he would look at it by and by, and showed no idea of opening it there, We bowed to the Regent and soon learned that the party was waiting for the Commodore, who I suspect had no idea of the matter. It seems that they either did not, or would not, understand the declining of this feast, to which they had invited Perry on Tuesday, who could only reply verbally at the time their card came off to the ship. I knew not that any written invitation had been given, for Perry had never said a word on the matter ; and therefore I could only say to Idjirashi that I knew nothing of it, nor whether the Commodore was coming, except that he was busy and had not intimated his intentions. The matter was miserably managed, anyhow, for a written invitation was probably sent, for Achin told me that the authorities had invited Perry, and I think a written card would not be neglected. If he had a paper in Chinese he did not understand, why did he not find out what was told him? A written refusal was the least the authorities could expect. The feast was proposed by them doubtless as a means of avoiding a meeting at Shui ; this refusal gives them a handle, and not having had a written refusal, a longer handle, to take exception at granting that interview.

I reported the matter to the Commodore who said that as he had had only a verbal invitation he gave only a verbal refusal. The impression of a show of some sort was very general among the people, for there must have been five or six hundred people in the streets, probably waiting for the guests. About 3 o'clock

Idjirashi and others brought a portion of the dinner on board the flagship, and if words could be received as denoting real feelings they certainly learned the real reason for declining it. They said that as Perry could not come to the dinner they had brought it off for him; and a pretty show they had made of it. The whole was taken away by the officers and men, and the natives went back, probably rather mortified at their reception, for nothing was offered them while on board, not even a chair.

Friday, June 3rd.—My quarters on the "Susquehanna's" taffrail are likely to prove very commodious when completed; just now I am at rather odd ends. Dr. Bettelheim wrote a letter to the Commodore in his usual singular fashion (calling him "father" and desirous to obey his orders, and talking of of "glorious mission," and the flagship a "throne," and Perry an "autocrat" whose glance should be law to the natives), yet finding fault with everything which has been done, chiefly, as far. as we can learn, because he was not consulted. Yet when he read Adams' reply in Perry's cabin yesterday he called it "excellent" and approved of it all. The man does not seem to know his own mind for a day, but evidently wishes to be consulted about everything and have his advice followed. He is not at all backward in sending or begging for things, while he, Jew-like, puts his money in the bank. However, this must be added, that he cannot spend much money here for his family, even if he wished, for he is not allowed to buy at will; and this sum may be the surplus of his salary. This P.M. he visited the flagship to report the result of the Regent's colloquy with him, and brought a petition from the Regent to the effect that the Queen Dowager was exceedingly ill, having never recovered from the alarm caused by the visit of Captain Shadwell in the "Sphynx" in February, 1852, and begged the Commodore to repair to the Prince's hall, where a personal interview could be held. He also proposed an exchange of another house in place of the one now occupied, and mentioned a temple as suitable for our use.

In reading such a document one can hardly explain all its

features by either Chinese or Japanese policy. The form of a petition (which is the constant style here toward foreigners) indicates a kind of servile feeling which their consistent persistence in upholding what they call and hold to be law rather denies; and their duplicity in these papers shows conscious weakness which their complete control over their own people again contravenes. The oligarchy of the gentry tyrannize over the people by means of moral suasion which, to have its present effect, must have been long exerted and commenced in youth. The Chinese classics are regarded as the standard of morals, and certainly here show what a means of degrading the human mind they can be made, crushing all responsibility and paralyzing the industry of the mass.

In the evening our walks led out to the pier and by the junks, and no change seemed to have been made here since 1837. A score of junks lay in the harbor, some after the Chinese model and some building of the Japanese fashion. A watering party of Japanese sailors passed by, but we saw none ashore, nor a large number in the junks. The market place for vegetables was full of people, and all the sellers were women, perhaps 600 of them, most of them remarkable for their long, coarse hair and plain features. The police follow us everywhere, making no opposition nor warning the people away, but yet acting as a check to intercourse. Few articles of interest are seen in the streets and there are no shops for wares opened anywhere. There were not many buyers and little alarm was manifested, tho' the women would always leave their baskets when we approached. The streets of dwellings are dull-looking by reason of the almost uniform dead wall in front of them, but these walls of coral are usually well built and look as if they had stood many years. We tried to enter no houses and saw few entrances so arranged that even the yard could be observed. The people occupy five times the space which Chinese do, but their comforts I suspect are not proportionate to the larger ground they occupy, though, as a whole, they seem to be well fed. Their sober, downcast

aces take away much from their looks, and repress all attempts to make one's self understood by talking to them.

Saturday, June 4th.—I was kept in the ship all day preparing the presents and drawing out the reply to the Regent's petition telling him that he (Perry) must go to the palace and, if the other house suits his purpose, he will change to it. The old teacher was loth to take up his pencil, but we got it ready by two o'clock and was just on the point of sending it in a boat, when to our general surprise, the Regent himself with his usual retinue came aboard. He was received by Captain Buchanan in his cabin and on being seated handed another petition to him for the Commodore, which was merely another request not to come to the palace, as the Queen Dowager was very sick, and the Regent's house was the spot to repair to. He wished, but unavailingly, to see Perry who would not appear. We declined taking their paper down to him, for after reading it we told them the answer was already contained in the answer now handed to him; this they deferred to open while on board. Captain Buchanan offered them some drink so strong that they could not take it; for all I know it was clear brandy. He showed in every action, his unwilling consent to have them remain long, and this was increased by Bettelhein appearing, who it seems had been invited off by the Regent to facilitate intercourse. However, it was no use; they could not see the Commodore or get any other answer than a reference to the paper handed them. It was a childish visit, and one hardly knows how to act toward such children, who must be in a manner coerced for their own good. To talk about the principles of international law being applicable to such people is almost nonsensical; they must first be taught humanity and self respect.

Before leaving they designated a man to accompany an officer to the other house they are willing to have us occupy, which proved to be the one formerly occupied by Forcade.*

* A French missionary who left Naha in 1846. Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, who visited the Island in 1848, carried away the survivor of two French

Owing to the fresh breeze Captain Buchanan sent the Regent ashore in a cutter, and was glad to be rid of them. Bettelheim had a long talk with Perry; he is becoming more than ever disliked by everybody, and took an unlucky step in coming aboard to-day, when he was unwished.

I came across the Regent's invitation to dinner a day or two ago, so that the contretemps might have been avoided if Perry had laid by the paper less carefully.

Mr. Jones and his party returned to-day and gave a good report of his trip,† and said there was much more to be discovered and hoped another opportunity would be given of exploring the island toward the extreme north.

Monday, June 6th.—By half-past nine the party had reached the landing place near Tumai, where it was formed in military order under the trees there, and started for Shui 守禮 about half-past ten A.M. The authorities had sent two guides and provided ten sedans and four horses, but in going up all preferred to walk, the day being very pleasant and agreeable, and they were told to follow after us. The guides went first, then came Bettelheim and I to see that they did not carry us to the wrong place. A party of sailors with two brass field pieces under Mr. Bennett's command, a company of marines, the "Mississippi's" band, Commodore Perry in a sedan chair, the coolies with the presents behind him and a marine each side of the chair, the officers in undress uniform, the "Susquehanna's" band, marines, etc., amounting in all to over 200 men, made up the procession. As it passed up the well-paved road and wound through the defiles or turns in the ascent to Shui it presented a beautiful

priests who had been left there two years before, the elder Père Adnet having died. They were completely discouraged by their treatment by the natives. He says:—"Nos missionnaires avaient donc été forcés de s'avouer qu'un plus long séjour aux îles Lou-tchou ne leur apprendrait point le moyen de lutter avec avantage contre la police la plus vigilante du monde, et de propager la religion chrétienne dans un pays où personne ne se soucie d'encourir pour une foi quelconque l'exil, la prison ou la bastonnade. A dater de ce jour, ils ne songèrent qu'a retourner en Chine, où de plus belles moissons récompenser leur zèle." (*Voyage de la Corvette la Bayonnaise dans les mers de Chine*, I, p. 227).

† The report constitutes Chapter VIII of the Narrative of the Expedition.

appearance, such as no Lewchewan had ever before gazed on. The distance was about three miles, and nothing could have been more charming than some of the scenes which opened upon us as we advanced—temples, ricefields, copses, houses and walled inclosures succeeding one another in pleasing exchange. At the entrance to the capital stands an honorary portal bearing the inscription 中 山 which means, I am told, the capital of the country. It was of fine proportions, the central gateway being twenty feet or so high and the side ones fifteen or so. Here commenced a level, macadamized road for the rubble paved one, and the walls on each side higher and solidly built.

Standing just beyond this portal, to my surprise stood the simpleton of a Regent with a large company of officers, and Idjirashi came up to beg us to turn in at his yamun which our guides were just about to do; Bettelheim, too wanted to parley with them, but I pulled him along and said I would not speak with any of them. Thus we went on up to the palace gate, a man running on ahead to open it, and our host trudging along in his slipshod, toe-thumb stockings by our side, putting himself by his silly conduct in a ridiculous position. I let him enter the gate a minute or two ahead, and then sent in the cards by Achin, for Perry was now nearly at the gate. One of the natives took me by the hand to beg me not to let the marines enter, and seemed vastly relieved by the assurance that they were not to enter. Near the gate was another honorary portal* like the other, with a different inscription 守禮之邦 Shui's domain. Going in we passed through a second door into a yard, at the upper and raised part of which was a tripartite doorway leading into the palace yard, inscribed 奉神門, "Door for receiving the gods"; the authorities were all standing at a side hall, the one in front being shut. When the principal persons were seated a few formal questions were asked, tables were placed before us (for the hall was perfectly bare of furniture) and tea and pipes

* Portrayed in Dr. Guillemard's "Cruise of the Marchesa," Vol. I, Chap. III, which contains a description of the palace.

introduced. The Regent and three Treasurers were seated in chairs opposite the commodore and his captains. They had soon the list of presents in their hands and presently arose to return thanks to the donor by a low bow. The Commodore then inquired after the health of the Prince and Queen Dowager, and offered the use of his physicians to assist in curing her. The Lewchewans seemed to have nothing to say to us, but rather to endure our presence; and Perry did not intend to introduce any topic. The hall, called the 高牖延薰, or High Inclosure for Fragrant Festivities, was the same where Captain Shadwell delivered Lord Palmerston's letter and, like the rest of the establishment, very little used. No preparation had been made for us here, and the Regent begged us to stop a little while at his office on our return, which was agreed to; he had evidently made the preparation there.

The courtyards were paved in alternate strips of cut granite and sand, and were clean; the woodwork was painted when new, but now had begun to decay from exposure. The outer walls were built of stone, much of it laid on the scarp of the hill, so that the outer look of the place was not unlike a fort, and was doubtless designed for some possible contingency of defense against insurgents; even now it could easily be garrisoned and fortified.

The Regent being evidently uneasy, his guests arose, and we were soon on the way to his quarters, Perry walking this distance with them. The people were not numerous in the broad way, and some saw the rattan laid over their backs when they encroached too near in peeping thro' the bushes. This day was for the grandees, and the vulgar were not to intrude. The Regent had indeed gone to considerable trouble, there being some fifteen tables spread with small saucers filled with cold viands, vegetables and drinks; and soon warm dishes were introduced. There were many yellow-capped officers standing about the room, but all the waiters had red caps and most of them blue dresses of a pretty hue; the four high officers in their

variegated caps sat opposite Commodore Perry like so many Nestors, grave, silent and rather sad—but nothing had spoiled their appetites, for they cleared most of the warm dishes. The Regent proposed to drink to America; Perry replied by the health of the Prince and Queen Dowager, and that our countries might always be at peace, all emptying their thimbles of cups each time. At the close each party drank the other's good health, and we rose to leave before the twelve courses were all brought in, which Bettelheim said was a royal feast. There was no lighting up of the faces of the old men, and they were evidently wishing us away, tho' a good many of the younger people were amused. What anybody could have found fault with I don't see, but mortified pride can always find vexation.

After two hours we left, the four chiefs accompanying Perry to the door and then hastening back with joyful step as tho' relieved. Some saw signs of secret observers peeping thro' pin-holes in a side room, and I guess there were many such. On the way back the accompanying crowd was large, and all of Napa came down, except the women, to see the show. We reached the ships at a quarter of three o'clock P.M.

Tuesday, June 7th.—Busy all day making out Perry's note to the Regent expressing his satisfaction at the reception, dislike of the spies tagging us everywhere, wishing him to appoint a man to take the money for the supplies and telling him of his intention of going to Japan. He also got up a present for the Queen Dowager and the other Treasurers; the former's of looking-glasses, soap, perfume, etc. In the evening took a walk up to Shui with Wayne and Dr. Smith; I was a little sore from my ride on the naked saddle I found on the horse given me at Shui, but this walk made me limber again, and we enjoyed the walk much, finding new beauties in the scenery. The crops looked well and the whole country gave promise of sufficient food for its inhabitants. The road was occupied with many persons going to and fro, some of whom were driving horses laden with bundles. Altogether, the women are the most

degraded part of the population and seem pressed down by their hard, servile work; no smiles, no laughing do we hear from them, and some of them are harridans beyond comparison. They do not flee so much as they did, but no approaches are made, apparently, to their good will. On returning we saw some persons turning up vegetable beds with short-handled mattocks at a great expense of labor. A large funeral procession was leaving Shui by another road from us, and we could hear, half a mile off, the wailing of the mourners as they dragged along between two supporters. The coffin was carried in a high-roofed red box on men's shoulders about the middle of the line; there were more than a hundred people in it.

The authorities made their last struggle this evening not to take payment for the provisions furnished the ships—a strange contest, and one would wish no stronger proof of the force of law and power of espionage and oppression. However, they at last assented. One objection, that Purser Barry was not of a high rank enough to treat with them on such a matter, rather excited him, besides causing the others some amusement. It was a well arranged meeting to compel them to give way on the point, in which they have always succeeded, and which is really one of the most singular in their policy—that of refusing payment for supplies. A lot of 200 boards was also needed, and at last was promised on their part. In all these proceedings Idjirashi acts a most important and conspicuous part and shows a deal of cleverness.

Wednesday, June 8th.—A deputation was sent ashore this morning to the mayor of Napa, composed of Lieutenant Contee, Mr. Barry and myself, taking with us the document prepared yesterday for the Regent and the presents for the Queen Dowager and two Treasurers, called Mau Fungming 毛鳳鳴, the other 翁德裕 Ung Teh-yu, who manage the revenue of the other departments of the island; the last each received a sword, four pieces of cotton, two bottles whiskey, one of wine, an engraving and a cake. We were also to give a threatening

message respecting payment if they still refused to settle accounts. On landing I was greatly relieved, therefore, to see Mr. Spieden with money on the table at Dr. Bettelheim's house, with the purveyor making out his accounts and all in process of amicable arrangement. Our men brought up the cash ($150 worth) in bundles of $5, or 6,500 each, and natives soon carried it off. We had an easy message at the Mayor's. Mr. Contee had been at his office before, and he received us out of the door, invited us in, was much interested in the presents, so far as they could be seen, and altogether the meeting was one of the pleasantest we have had. Nothing was said of payments, but they were told that we intended to bring some cattle and sheep ashore and pasture them in the inclosure near Bettelheim's house, and wanted the 200 boards to make a fence. Many excuses were offered respecting the boards—that they were difficult to get, as most of them came from Japan or Tuchara, and only then as dunnage or to fill up the rice junks. I told them that I had seen too many houses boarded inside as well as out, and too many pit-saws going to think they had few boards. He then asked who was to look after the cattle and who was to be responsible for their lives, on which points we eased his anxiety, but he made no objection to their being brought ashore to that place. Inquiries were made as to where the two ships were going, and why; we also wished to know the manner of their cultivation of tobacco, and were promised some seed. After remaining more than an hour in pleasant chat we wished health to the Regent and all high functionaries on behalf of the Commodore and took our departure, much better pleased than if we had been obliged to threaten them. All accounts having been settled, the pursers all returned aboard, and we may hope the authorities will make no more opposition. In fact, it is not easy to explain the reason for refusing payment. I suppose that, as they themselves exact the supplies, they lose nothing by their gifts, but the people bear it all, while they deem themselves in the safest position with respect to their real rulers by adhering

to the letter of the law and considering all ships as their guests. I look upon Lewchew as a dependency of Satzuma, (rather than subject to Japan) by whose prince it was conquered entirely in the 17th century, 1609.* That principality monopolizes the trade and manages the relations and policy of the island, allowing the voyage of homage to Fuhchau every year to keep up a profitable trade and a shadow of independence among the natives. The power is wielded by the gentry whom long usage has formed into a caste, and they sway the timid, defenseless people by a system of espionage which spreads distrust and fear of others over the whole community. The gentry maintain the spies and are the depositories of all learning, education and office, doing nothing to elevate or improve their serfs. Apparently, their sway is very mild, for no swords in the hands of soldiers nor even whips in the hands of guards are seen in the streets, but it is because all resistance has ceased, and a motion of a fan or a wink is as effectual as a blow. Fear of an informer doubtless carries obedience to needless lengths, such as running away from the markets when a foreigner appears, but perhaps most of the market-people being women more satisfactorily accounts for this, and they do not now run as they did at first. There is nothing which so destroys the self respect of the human soul as a system of surveillance and responsibility—constantly on the lookout that another's conduct does not involve one's self, constantly feeling that one's actions are all spied out and may be reported for punishment, you are hampered and meshed like a fish in a net and fear to move. If the people even knew their rights they have no power to assert them, and the only hope lies in teaching all classes the baneful effects of so unnatural a system. Whether the authorities are likely to be punished in any way for their finally coming to our demands or not, they certainly must see that we have no present intention of interfering in their internal affairs; but it is likely that a change in their foreign policy will materially influence their internal system,

* See Klaproth's *Sankokf tsou ran to sets*, p. 177. (Note by author.)

seeing how the two are blended, and the obvious advantages of changing the relation of host and guest for that of seller and buyer when a squadron of 1,500 men come must be apparent, even to the lowest coolie in port. Many signs of a change are already apparent.

In the evening I went aboard one of the Japanese junks, where we were rather endured than received; there were 22 men, and they had been fifteen days from Kagosima. They gave us no tea or pipes, and refused to sell Mr. Bittinger a box he was earnest to buy for a knife. The rudder post was hauled up and lay horizontally in the cabin; it was about three feet in diameter. The room was kept clean and most of the cargo was landed. Some of the Lewchewan *stchibang* followed us aboard —imps of oppression who may some day get roughly handled for their impertinence. On returning to our boat the captain handed back a handkerchief I had previously given him.

On reaching the steamer I found that the Regent had made his return presents of paper, cloth, tobacco, saki, fans, pipes, etc., a trumpery assortment with only a few pieces of lackered ware.

Saturday, June 11th.—On passage to the Bonins.*

On Thursday morning we got under way with the "Saratoga" in tow and moved out of the harbor in fine style, leaving the "Mississippi" and "Supply" in port. Several persons were left ashore, among whom were Mr. Brown and Mr. Draper, the daguerrian and telegraph artists; they took up their lodgings in the house at Tumai. The house on the hilltop near Dr. Bettelheim's was also occupied by sending some cattle and sheep on shore thereabouts to pasture and be taken care of, as the Mayor was informed. There is not much to do now with the Lewchewans, in an official manner, but everything in showing them the equitable and firmly just conduct proper in our dealings with them, and leading them to see that it is for their interest and peace to treat us with courtesy. Thus far things have gone on as favorably as I expected, and when the native

* Ogasawara-jima, called Munin-to by the Japanese.

authorities come to see that we mean what we say, they will, I hope, refrain from their own subterfuges and treat us fairly.

Today the poor old teacher was committed to the sea. He did not recruit at all after reaching Napa in the "Saratoga," and tho' every care was taken of him on board the flagship, a good room and nourishing food provided, he did not recover his spirits or appetite. He had brought all the apparatus with him for smoking opium, tho' he constantly asserted that he had none of the drug with him. I would not let him smoke, but he took it in some cinnabar-colored pills which he called 保生丸, or nourishing-life pills, and took in large doses. He gradually failed in mind and body, and the last thing he did for me was to mark the two pictures sent to the two Treasurers on Wednesday; after that he had hardly mind enough to answer a question. He presented a sad spectacle of ghastly emaciation, mumbling and talking and moaning, now about home, and now about money. I told him a week ago that I did not think he would ever recover and tried to direct his attention to the Savior, of whose salvation he was not ignorant; but he paid little heed to it, and spoke of it himself none at all. I fear his heart was never touched with a sense of his sinfulness. He died last night about eleven o'clock of inanition and exhaustion of the nervous system, delirious for twenty-four hours previous. He was bound up in his mat just as he lay in bed, and then sewed up in canvas. A jar of opium prepared for smoking and all the pills he had, with a quantity of cakes, sweetmeats, etc., were thrown overboard, and his opium pipe was buried with him; he must have spent $15 to $18 for opium and other things injurious to him, and I hardly had two days' service ont of him the whole time. I never saw an opium smoker die before, and had no idea that the use of this drug so enfeebled the nervous system and rendered the powers of mind so weak and the whole man so foolish. He was a shocking sight, a melancholy ruin.

Tuesday, June 14th.—Port Lloyd.

After a passage of five days over the most sunny seas and

with the pleasantest accompaniments of breeze, temperature and progress, we anchored here this morning. The land looks native and as if the soil was tolerably productive, for the vegetation covers the hilltops, some of which are fully 1500 feet high. A Hawaiian—a youth born on the island came off to pilot us in if needed, and about nine o'clock we anchored, almost land-locked, and deep water in some places near the rocks. During the day parties were made up for exploring the island to-morrow, but I declined to join them in the ascent of these steep hills lest I should not keep up. In the evening we rambled along the beach and visited three houses which presented a good degree of comfort in their internal arrangements; one of them was occupied by a Portuguese who had lived here twenty-one years and has had ten children, only one (our pilot erewhile) of whom now lives with him. A daughter of his was forcibly carried off two years ago by some pirates from Hongkong on their way to California.

Wednesday, June 15th.—Port Lloyd.

Two parties under Mr. Taylor* and Dr. Fahs left early this morning to explore. I went ashore about nine o'clock and, with Mr. Patterson, went up some of the low hills near the dwellings. All these hills had been burnt over not long ago, perhaps to cover the soil with a manure of ashes; a growth of Carex and Scirpus now covered them, mixed with shrubs, all growing in the richest soil. The rock is everywhere of trap formation, containing veins of greenstone running thro' it and nodules of iron-stone, the outer surface of which last is often blistered, as if it had been simmered before a fire; the presence of sulphur has caused this rock to decompose rapidly, and this has assisted greatly to produce the rich soil. Many parts of the soft ground were riddled with crabs' holes, some of them large enough for weasels'.

The vegetation is decidedly tropical, which is rather un-

* Bayard Taylor, whose account of this excursion appears in the Narrative, pp. 204-209.

expected in a place the latitude of Wanchau-fu and only 1,200 miles east of Ningpo. Here two species of palm, one of them producing a kind of cocoa-nut, the tree-fern, the plantain, papaya, sugar-cane and pandanus, all show the tropical affinities of the flora. I found two beautiful species of Hibiscus, a Sida, of which the berry is good eating, a fern or two and a kind of iuniper. Most of the plants are new to me, but the variety is small. Few gynandrous or syngenesious plants came under my eye. In the damp or winter months there is probably more variety of flowering plants in the underbrush than at this season. Few mosses or ferns appeared, the ground being grassy and dry. Seaweed is not plenty, and the species resemble moss, covering the stones at high water.

The crabs are most abundant, running over the ground and covering the pools in the ravines by the hundreds. They form a distinctive feature of the island, especially in the woody parts; some of them are two and a half inches square on the carapace; along the shore the hermit crab is paramount, only a few others running about the rocks. In the sands a kind of Portumnus (?) digs holes, and at low tide one can hear them snapping their mandibles with a curious, clicking sound.

Few insects are seen; a butterfly, a grasshopper, ants and sandflies, or something of the sort, comprise my list. These last are found in the dry, decomposed ground in the woods, and are exceedingly agile. One lizard ran across my path, brown, spotted, four inches long. A species of Periopthalmus was caught skipping over the rocks. The dorsal extends the whole back, the false pectorals apparently disjoined, but proceeding from the same bone; skin dark brown, black spots, eyes projecting and approaching; belly light brown. While walking over the sands which was marked into ripples by the surf, so hard as to resist my weight, I was led to infer that the solidification of these ripples into rock, so that the layers can be easily separated into thin pieces showing plainly the original ripplings, is not so very surprising; for at this time these marks were even

more solid than the shells lying on them. Probably a succession of these ripples, one above another, could even now be detected a few feet below the surface if a large section could be removed and partially indurated enow to show the stratification. The deposits on this soft sand are very slowly made, the silt coming from the comminuted cliffs brought down by the rains.

The shells are not numerous, but a large variety is produced in or near the coral reefs, for the surf has brought up many species; the nerita, voluta, chiton, ostica, patella and murex have their representatives growing at low water, attached to the rocks. The coral appears very beautiful as one slowly floats over it, and the variety is considerable; echinei are common and hundreds of biche de-mer, black and round, a foot to eight inches long, lie scattered over the bottom; this species is not eaten by the Chinese. Some ray, called stingaree, force themselves over the coral; two were caught in the net, of a plain brown, with a single spine in his whip-like tail, measuring nearly one and one-third feet square; their mode of swimming is by an undulating, flopping and rapid movement of the tail. It is a mystery to me how the spine is used for attack or defense.

There are now thirty-nine persons on the island. Mr. Savary, an American from Massachusetts has lived here twenty-three years; two others for twenty-one years. Marquesans and Hawaiians are here, most of the females being of the latter. The inhabitants live peaceably with each other, but no one exercises any authority, and at times they are much annoyed by sailors. Each one shares seed with others, so that they all have much the same variety of vegetables. Turtle furnishes their chief meat, and this they salt down to exchange for provisions out of whalers. Indian corn, muskmelons, watermelons, sweet and Irish potatoes, taro, beans, onions and bananas are among the vegetables. Goats, hogs, poultry, ducks and geese are reared.

Thursday, June 16th.—The Commodore and a large party went off to Buckland Island on a fishing and discovery picnic,

taking with them the cattle and sheep brought from Shanghai, which were intended to be left here for increase. The cattle were put ashore at Williams' bay on the northwest side of Peel Island, where they will find food and not overrun the plantations of the inhabitants on this side. The sheep and goats were landed on Stapleton Island, which is already covered with goats, the progeny of some left there by Beechy or some other voyager. The hogs have possession of Buckland Island, here usually called Hog Island. I was invited to go with this party with the stipulation of remaining out all night, but most of them came back at evening.

In the afternoon I went to see a cave at the entrance of the harbor, formed by the dropping down of the friable trap rock; no coral was seen hereabouts growing out of the sunlight, nor many mollusks clinging to the water-edge rocks. I suspect the direct and constant rays of the sun are necessary to the marine products. The opening is supported in front by a mass of rock, around which the water flows; it is perhaps 150 feet high to the peak, and the water slowly percolates through, causing patches of rock to fall off. A shock of an earthquake would loosen large masses. Passing along in the boat, the coral appeared exceedingly beautiful thro' the limpid water; patches of brain (branching and a little flat) coral appeared to succeed each other; specimens of blue among the white made both look prettier, and where the branching sort covered the bottom, the resemblance to a tiny forest was remarkable. Hundreds of red echenei, with long rays, dark purple, five toothed, three inch diameter, were seen in some places and then disappeared, attracted probably by the food. The biche-de-mer always lay on the sand, the sea-eggs or echinus on the coral. In one cavity a diodon was seen crawling over the bottom and was soon conveyed to our boat; the mode of inflating his body to cause the spines to project seems to be by sucking in a large quantity of water, for this one gradually shriveled as he ejected the water: yet I am told that the fish can be irritated to swell up when

recently caught, in which case, the body can also be inflated with air. It is a repulsive fish and seems uncommon in this place. Its garniture of spines renders it, as in the case of the porcupine, pretty safe against its enemies, but a shark will eat almost anything when hungry. This specimen was ten inches long, dark brown patches on the back over a speckled yellowish-gray ground; the belly whitish.

The party returned from their trip to the other islands giving the same report of steep hills and a few level places near the seaside. A tree was found which the carpenter thought was mahogany. A palm having an edible top, tasting like the cabbage-palm, was common on one side; in fact, I should not wonder if there were several species of palm here, and that cocoanuts would grow, if brought and planted along the beach. Some enterprising Chinese would soon collect a cargo of fan leaves, if left here a month with a party, the fan-leaf palm being plenty; it is used as thatch.

Friday, June 17th.—Port Lloyd.

Mr. Savary, the oldest resident here, is from Bradford in Massachusetts, and was one of five men who, with a number of Hawaiian men and women, were sent to colonize this island by Mr. Charlton, then the British Consul at Oahu; Mr. Chapin of Boston and Mr. Millichamp, an Englishman, also were in the party; the former is dead, and the latter now lives in Guam, so that Mr. Savary is in some sort the proprietor. No authority is exerted by him or any other person, however, and the residents live on the best terms with each other, cultivating friendly relations with each other and acknowledging certain understood rules in respect to the capture of turtle or fish, and cultivation of ground. Mr. Mottley, Webb and Collins are Englishmen living here, and John Bravo, a Portuguese; the last named has had ten children, and appears an enterprising man in managing his farm. The colonizing of this island thro' Charlton's agency shows that the English were early alive to the importance of the position, and he may have started the enterprise at Captain Beechey's

suggestion after the visit of the latter in 1827. I believe Commodore Perry has exercised some rights of sovereignty since his arrival, appointing Savary navy agent, taking up land and making it out, and doing what seemed to him good. If the English would govern the island and let the coal depot be managed by the steam company, without taxation, the supremacy and interests of the two parties would be amicably managed. The position is certainly eligible for a stopping place in crossing between the Hawaiian Islands and Shanghai, far better than any islet we yet know of along the Japanese coast. It could be made to furnish a large supply of vegetables, and labor could be brought from China for building wharves, etc.

A record is kept of all arrivals and departures at the port, and a journal of notable events, by Mr. Savary. The number of whalers which have visited and are expected to visit the place this season is greater than in any year previous; two have appeared in the offing while we have been here, one of whom sent in a boat for supplies to-day. The establishment of a coal depôt here would damage it as a port of supplies to whalers whose captains are afraid of losing their men at large ports. However, they could go down southwest to Bailey Island, where five persons moved from this place some twenty months ago and began a settlement. Comparing the society now and the records of former navigators, there is an improvement in some respects. The misdeeds of runaway sailors are very vexatious and probably cause all the troubles; one of the "Saratoga's" men deserted yesterday and has not been recovered, a gain of over $200 to Uncle Sam. Ten or twelve of these characters left a few weeks ago, much to the relief of the settlement.

The scenery of this group is imposing, the peaks rising sheer up into steep points which show their origin. One of the exploring parties suddenly found itself on the brink of a cliff fully 500 feet down. Most of them are susceptible of a growth of grass and vines, but not one acre in a hundred can be culti-

vated. From the deck of the "Saratoga" one summit behind John Bravo's house bore so strong a resemblance to a lion's head and shoulders that we said "John Bull must have the claim to prior possession as his seal was on the mountains."

Many species of shells might be collected in a short time if one would search and drag for them. Species of Arca, Chama of large size, Cyprea, Conus, Patella, Nerita, Chiton, Anomia, etc., are frequent; few oysters and not many land or lacustrine species. Fish are plentiful, but the inhabitants find turtle to be more profitable game; species of Diodon, Balistes, Serranus, Tetrodon, Shark, Ray, Mullus and Perca have been seen, some of them abundantly. Crawfish, some of them three and a half feet long, are common; two species were brought us.

One of the pleasantest sails I have had was taken this evening after sunset; Mr. Madigan and I took a canoe and paddled to Mr. Savary's where we remained an hour. The row over the smooth water, in a bright moonlight which made a beautiful contrast of shade and moonshine along the banks and thro' the harbor, was pleasing to me, only recently from the hot bricks of Canton, and I enjoyed it greatly. All these canoes are hollowed from single trees, with a bulwark added to the wale and furnished with outriggers and sails; for the uses of the islanders they are better than a boat and are easily managed by one person.

Saturday, June 18th.—Taking the "Saratoga" in tow, the "Susquehanna" steamed her way out of the harbor this morning, the same fair weather attending us which we have had for the last decade. The Bonins were soon lost to sight, and no very dear memories left behind, if the complaints of the officers respecting bad washing at high prices and few provisions at extravagant rates could be deemed an index. However, the people did their best at washing and sold us what they had, doubtless taking advantage of the rare chance of a ship of war to make the most; but they would be blamed anyhow, let them do what they might.

In the afternoon the island of Rozario, or Disappointment Island, was passed; a low coral island, probably once two islets, and now joined by a single beach of coral fragments. The surf beat up fully thirty feet high as we passed; the highest point of the island was hardly fifty feet high. Reefs defended it wherever we could see it.

Wednesday, June 22nd.—Our pleasant southwest monsoon weather still continues, and we get along six to seven knots an hour over smooth seas, having occasionally a favorable slant of wind, so that the sails can be set. At noon we passed within five miles of Borodino Island on the north of us, a low, coral island not over a hundred feet above seawater and covered with vegetables and trees; it consists of two islets, the largest five or six miles long; the smallest a mile, lying northeast of it. The surf broke over the reefs along the whole length of it, and there is probably no very safe anchorage near the shore, and so far as could be ascertained no inhabitants either, but no conclusions could be safely drawn from such a view. It lies in such a direction from Lewchew that it is not unlikely that the inhabitants have been to it, and may still cultivate it. A good survey of the two would be well worthy of being made, not only to ascertain its capabilities for sustaining a population, but to see if there is any shelter there for a vessel in distress. It is the only land between Lewchew and the Bonin's on which any person could find retreat, or resort to in case of shipwreck, with any hope of sustaining life.

Thursday, June 23rd.—We anchored at Napa about five o'clock p.m., and found that the "Plymouth" only had arrived.

Dr. Bettelheim's presence was soon announced on board, but he had not much to communicate. He thinks the northern part of the island ought to be searched for coal; I think there would be as much chance for finding gold as coal in this islet, and who is to dig it? After he had gone, two officials from the mayor of Napa came to hand in his card to the Commodore. They were desirous to ascertain where we had been, but their

knowledge of the world around them is too limited to know even where the Bonins are situated.

I have been reading an abstract of Levyssohn's recent publication on Japan,* in which he endeavors to excuse Dutch servility and Japanese seclusion, showing by the way that there is very little prospect of a successful termination to this American attempt to open trade and intercourse with the islanders. However, an attempt must be made some day or other, and until the temper of the government and people is ascertained in view of a stern demand from abroad, how is any course of action to be marked out? The opperhoofd's views are as contracted as the little island of Desima where he has resided; no reference to the general interests of humanity, to the pitiable heathenism of the Japanese and their ignorance of the revealed will and laws of their Maker, to extension of intercourse and consequent elevation of character, or to the diffusion of true Christianity among them, is to be found in his pages. It is, to my mind, a fair example of the influence of sordid trade on the human heart.

Friday, June 24th.—I was engaged during the morning in making out cards to send to the leading officers of the government to dine on the flagship on Tuesday next—the prince, the Regent, three Treasurers and mayor of Napa—telling them in oriental style that we "had prepared goblets and awaited the light of their presence" at four p.m. I took them to the mayor's office where I learned that it would be necessary to change the Regent's card, the old one having been made to resign, or been deposed, while we were absent. One is inclined to speculate as to our agency in the degradation of this imbecile man; the last paper he brought aboard ship on the 4th, much to the surprise of all, intimated to Perry that he (Perry) had his fate in his hand, that he could not allow us to go to the palace, alleging, however, only the illness of the Queen Dowager and the commands he had received from the 國主 "sovereign of

* Bladen over Japan. 'Sgraven Hage, 1852.

the land" to entertain the American Commodore at his own official residence; then, his very undignified act of remaining out in the street of Shui to coax or invite us into his house may have been a last effort to avert his probable fate and show that he had done all he could to prevent the entrance to the palace. However, no change could introduce a greater non-entity than this man seems to be, for he is the most of a child of any officer we have had intercourse with. Nor can one feel much sympathy for men who put themselves at the beginning in an attitude of mistrust, reserve and distance, refusing that intercourse which unfettered humanity would take and deriving no benefit themselves from this churlishness; such rulers as these curse themselves and their people.

Be this as it may, some causes have overthrown the Regent, and a new man may be free to take a new course. The card to the prince was at first declined on the ground that he could not come, but I would not hear to the excuse; he is said to be twelve years old, but why they style him 太子, or heir apparent, I do not know, if it be true that the father is dead.

In this office of the mayor's is a tablet showing the influence of Confucius' maxims: 孝悌堯舜之道不外乎此. Filial duty and brotherly love: the doctrine of Yau and Shun are nothing but these two. The mayor was desirous of ascertaining when we were going away and where Perry had been; to the first I pleaded ignorance, and endeavored to answer the second as well as I could, which was not easy without a map. Perhaps my answers would hasten the dispatch of the junk lying off the Roads, and this may explain their earnestness. Ichirazichi shows great tact in the way he manages his questions, and I suspect his influence is proportional to his parts.

In the evening I went around to the house in Tumai, and found that it had been made much more comfortable than the other could ever have been made, for it is larger, has a better yard, and is cooler. The other is now actually occupied as a school-room, as we ascertained by going into it, where we found

twenty-eight lads conning over a Japanese edition of the works of Mencius, just as if they had been in China, squatting about on their haunches or jumping around the room. Even with all their childish glee, there was the same serious air which seems innate to a Lewchewan; Mr. Spieden says he has only once seen the people laugh heartily, and that was when they felt the shock of a galvanic battery on board the "Mississippi."

Rambling over the hills back of Tumai reminded me of the walk which we took in 1837 (having Mrs. King and Captain Ingersoll in company) in these parts, tho' I am not able to recall the locality at all. We went up to a Buddhist temple to see what could be in the building and found a party of priests sipping tea and smoking; a sacrifice of cooked dishes was spread over the main room, arranged on low tables in front of the idols, having lamps burning. The party gave us a cold reception, motioning us out of the house and refusing us an entrance into the temple; indeed we could hardly get a drink of water and did not tarry long. The Hibiscus rosa-sinensis* was in full flower in the yard, which was kept neatly. Almost all these temples, I am told, have an adjoining building for the entertainment of guests and travelers, who are thus enabled to house themselves without incommoding the priests. The location of this establishment is very pleasant, and everything around it was riant and peaceful. May God in his mercy soon change the sullen superstition of the inmates to a joyful faith in his Son.

Saturday, June 25th.—Most of the day was spent on board the "Supply" where I went in the morning to go with Dr. Wilson and examine coral beds, but found the tide so high that we had to wait till afternoon. On reaching the coral reefs we had some difficulty in keeping the boat easy, but by the men getting overboard many pretty specimens were obtained of madrepores and other sorts, with two kinds of echinus. Hundreds of the blue coral fish were flying from one hole to another, their bright skins alternately showing blue and green

* The "shoe-black plant" of Java.

as the light was reflected from them. We came across one agile fish which seemed to walk along the bottom, and was perhaps a siren. We carried the coral ashore to bleach it in the sun near Dr. Bettelheim's house; at this house a large number of natives were assembled, looking with some interest at a pile of condemned biscuit sent ashore, afraid to touch or take it in presence of their overseers.

The people have a pretty mode of planting trailing plants to run along the top of the walls around their houses, both to mat them firmly and raise a defense against climbers. Bastard banian, cacti, bamboos, orangines (Murraya) and a sort of ivy have all been seen.

In a funeral procession which passed near us the bearers of inscriptions to propitiate the gods of the way took the lead, then a company of well-dressed men, all clad in brownish white dresses, and then the male mourners blubbering and crying as they stumbled along, half borne up by assistants. The coffin was inclosed in a bier formed of a tray and a cover which completely concealed it; the whole was red, and was borne by four men who showed that their burden was not a light one. After the bier came the female mourners, perhaps thirty in all, some of them friends supporting the crying, wailing women, and all protected from the crowd by men carrying a net on each side stretched on poles. There was no music, and the red bier was another deviation from Chinese custom. The graves in this vicinity are substantial erections in the same general style as the Chinese tombs about Canton, resembling a letter *Ω*, or else an opening into the rock thro' which the coffin is thrust into a recess and then closed with masonry. Considerable labor has been laid out in scraping the ledges in many cases to make a face for the tomb, or in building a wall to inclose a small area in its front. No inscriptions have been seen on any tombs, in which they differ from Chinese, but I suspect their sepulchral rites partake more of Japanese customs than Chinese.

Sunday, June 26th.—Altho' it was the Sabbath, Ichirazi-

chi came off to the ship to intimate the acceptance of the invitation to dine with the Commodore on Tuesday. He made inquiries where we had been while absent, and I got an India-rubber globe to show him the position of the Bonins with respect to the United States, China, and his own country, and strongly impressed it on him that his government must expect to have many visitors coming into their ports, and the sooner they were treated properly and supplied with what they needed, the better it would be for this country. He wished to know why boats had gone up to Port Melville, as letters had come down from Uting stating the arrival of boats there last evening. I told him they were sent to survey the harbor and would return in two days; and that we intended to go everywhere on their coasts examining the shores, so that ships might know where to anchor. In respect to everything relating to foreign intercourse and the courtesy due to ships, I give these officials no comfort or hope of a better time coming; they are now learning their duty in the gentlest manner, and must understand that we are in earnest. The report that Sháng Tá-mú has ripped himself up is gaining ground, and excites no little displeasure among some as one of the sad results of our course; but I have great doubts about it and, if it were so, the execrable laws which compel such a step are more to blame, in my view, than we are who had no idea of such a contingency.

Dr. Bettelheim came aboard after his service was over in the "Plymouth" and made himself somewhat dubious by the way in which he spoke of the succession to the Regency and the fate of the old one. This same Dr. Bettelheim contrives to heap a deal of ill-will and contempt up against himself by his conduct.

Monday, June 27th.—In the evening rambled over the reefs with Mr. Jones collecting fish and mollusks, all of which were drowned in my jar by mistake. In the night the crew of the "Mississippi" gave a theatrical performance to the squadron. The Commodore rather favors these things, saying that their effect is to keep the crews in good spirits; the men are pleased enough

to have time given them to learn their parts and paint the scenery, a sort of shirking their work which others do not like.

Tuesday, June 28th.—The arrival of the "Caprice" this morning gave unwonted stir to our little fleet, and the letters, parcels, stores, etc , were soon scattered among their respective owners, a Chinese assistant to take the place of my old man Sieh and a servant boy, Alai, to attend on me, falling to my share. They both talk the dialect of Shanghai, and I am likely to become expert in the court dialect before I get home, as this teacher needs a deal of explanation. I was glad to see Captain Maury look so well and think he has given satisfaction.

Toward noon the Commodore began to fidget concerning the arrival of his guests and, as the rain came down briskly, it was in a measure doubtful; the boats were sent according to promise for them, but Bettelheim's fears added to the uncertain state of the weather induced him to send us both off also. We met them all aboard the two cutters and had our row in the rain for nothing; Bettelheim was cross, too, because the Regent was ahead of him, and hallooed to the boats in vain, making me wish I was out of his company.

The new Regent, Shang Hiung-hium 尙宏勳, two of the Treasurers and the mayor of Napa, with many ti-fu, or subordinates, in all eighteen or so, came off. Captain Buchanan took some of them over the ship and into the engine room, and I went with others elsewhere, but there was no time to show them much, as Perry hurried all down to the table. He seated the Regent and a Treasurer on his right and left; the other two were at the opposite. The Regent has a family likeness to the former, and acted in the same still, hushed manner, exhibiting more uneasiness and constantly glancing here and there as if afraid of treachery. The others enjoyed their dinner and wine, tasting of all and clearing their plates often. The Regent thanked the Commodore for the cattle and promised to rear them; he was further promised some seeds from the United States to distribute among the

people. He had brought some saki and sweetmeats off himself, which were laid on the table too. While dining many sorts of spirits were drunk, and Bettelheim evidently acted as if under their influence, getting up and sitting down, talking and gesticulating in a strange way. I wish more pains had been taken to inform these officers than to guzzle them, but darkness was coming on and no time for aught but eating. The Regent rose to leave two or three times, but was motioned down as often, his host perhaps forgetting that at Shui he left long before the last course and had not the same excuse of night coming on. The Regent was told that we were going to Japan soon, and that other ships were coming here, and we hoped friendly intercourse would spring up. The health of the guests and their country was drunk, in which they joined, but proposed nothing themselves; indeed, nothing could interest or please the Regent except to get off. The rain came down so fast that after the guests were on deck they could not go, and went into Captain Buchanan's cabin to rest awhile. The marines were marshalled and the band played, so that nothing was wanting to show them respect; I suspect the attendants got very little to eat, though their eyes and ears were filled with sights and music. I tried to ascertain from the interpreter whether the old Regent was in Shui, but had no chance; Bettelheim thought he was imprisoned or banished, and increased the dislike of some to him by the smirk with which he told of the poor man's fate—a fate which I think is doubtful. I don't much wonder at his feelings, however; living here for so many years and deprived of common comforts through this man's means, it is not surprising that he should wish a change of rulers. The party of Lewchewans left at sunset, but he remained to try to settle accounts with the purser or caterers, and nearly got a discharge from the ship by accusing the officers of cheating him. It is strange to hear the dislike felt against him by the squadron, yet I can explain it mostly without deeming him to be a scoundrel as others do.

Wednesday, June 29th.—Dined with Wayne and Maury in the

"Caprice," and then took a walk to Shui with the latter, much to his delight, as he had not been ashore before, and we really had a pleasant walk through the charming country. We went over to Wi-dumai, the embowered village, and returned along the seaside hilltops from which the view was the one McLeod describes,* a mixture of sea and shore, copse and wood, cultivated patches of many colors checking the whole, and graves of solid masonry placed in grassy hillsides or surrounded with solid stone walls. The palace grounds at Shui indicate much taste, and the rivulet which runs by Tumai is there collected into a pool of one quarter of a square mile or so, affording many conveniences to the people. We met the tallow tree, mulberry, lotus and taro, cultivated, but not to great extent. The people ran from us, and one left a pail of cool water in the streets for our enjoyment. The strata of limestone is lost sight of as one ascends to Shui, where granite alternates with it.

When we spoke to people this evening they would put their fingers in their ears—a new device to hinder intercourse, which those who did it rather laughed at, for we saw a lurking smile on the faces of several at the grimaces they were told to make.

Thursday, June 30th.—Coaling ship all day, which makes the vessel uncomfortable in spite of all the precautions taken. The "Brenda" which came in Tuesday is discharging her load into the "Mississippi," and every preparation making for a start. The "Supply" is to remain, keep possession of the house at Tumai, and the "Caprice" is to remain at Shanghai just long enough to be back here by August 1st.

I have been busy translating the President's letter, and find my Chinese assistant a mere office copyist, one who has had but little reading and is not quick at catching my meaning. Added to this, his pronunciation differs from mine considerably, so that we are frequently thrown off from catching the meaning. He is good-natured and patient, in which qualities I can learn.

* Voyage of the "Alceste" to the Yellow Sea. London, 1817.

Friday, July 1st.—Went ashore this morning to carry a lot of seeds to the mayor's office for the Regent. I had a long talk while there, chiefly to answer a petition received from the Regent the day before through the mayor who came on board the flagship to present and urge it himself. The purport of this paper was that the Regent requested Commodore Perry to send back two Chinese who had been sent over from Shanghai in the "Brenda" to Dr. Bettelheim as assistants, as they were not wanted. I told the officers that we had no hand in bringing them over, that Dr. Bettelheim was an Englishman and these Chinese were sent by English officers to him, and that we could do nothing in the matter, adding that they had better give up all such ideas of preventing people coming to their shores to live if they wished to do so, and the sooner they began to treat foreigners like friends, allowing them to trade as they pleased, not ordering the people to run from them, or the women to hide themselves, the better they would get along with them. They seemed to understand the matter, but I suspect are not free to follow what is advised. The personal position of the Regent when he went down into the engine-room, urged on by Captain Buchanan and terrified at the ponderous machinery before him, is not unlike his political position now; pressed on either side by fear of China and Japan, urged to change by what they begin to see is a power more irresistible than either, and yet not seeing their way to do so very clearly, the rulers here deserve more consideration than all have given them. I told them that henceforth American and other ships would visit them more frequently than before and would expect to be well treated. We had treated them kindly and expected to get similar returns. Ichirazichi was very particular in his inquiries as to what ships of the squadron were coming, which was to stay, what force was to be out next year, and other questions showing the desire to ascertain all our movements. I told him all I knew, and, furthermore, thanked him, on behalf of Perry, for building the tomb over the body of the boy buried from the "Susquehanna"

on June 3rd. He said it was their law so to do, and I then commended such a custom. The interview was quite long, but I hope these officials are beginning to understand that we are friendly if they are, and that we mean all we say; to me, they appear like school boys who need some threatenings and coercion for their own good, to show them that nations have mutual claims, and they must acknowledge these claims. But what can weakness and might, such as are here in contact, do? We are our own expounders of what we wish them to consider right; but they are not able to see the matter from the same position. However, during the last six weeks a good beginning has been made in this instruction, no harm done to them, and proof enough given of our intention to take all we wish if they are slow in granting it; they have derived some benefit, I hope, though I fear there are more lessons in this political economy still harder.

At parting I received some pipes and fans, and some tobacco seed, and the good wishes of the company. May they soon be made willing to receive the gospel.

The "Caprice" sailed at noon, sooner than I had supposed she would. Dr. Bettelheim has so tired out the officers that few showed any warm desire to help him get his letters off, and he was too late; yet there is much to be said on his side too, troubled and vexed as he has been with provision bills from every mess in the fleet. In the evening went to Wi-dumai for the third time; the people were more friendly than ever, and the village looked charming. The scenery hereabouts is truly charming from its peaceful character, evidencing so much the quiet character of the inhabitants, and one cannot fail to relish it.

Monday, July 4th.—We sailed from Napa on Saturday morning, taking the "Saratoga" in tow and followed by the "Mississippi" having the "Plymouth" in her rear. We have sighted several islands lying northeast of Lewchew, some of them not accurately laid down. To-day has been a holiday, and a salute was fired at noon from all the ships; this outburst of patriotism did

well enough to announce to these remote waters the coming of the universal Yankee nation to disturb their apathy and long ignorance, and I hope there will nothing worse come of our visit hitherward than firing some salutes and making a noise. I pray the Governor of nations to so prepare the hearts and allay the fears of the people we are visiting that this mission to them shall be as peaceable as the tenor of President Fillmore's letter to the Emperor, and that their sovereign and his advisers may be led to entertain these proposals favorably. I am sure that the Japanese policy of seclusion is not according to God's plan of bringing the nations of the earth to a knowledge of his truth.

Friday, July 8th.—Land appeared on the northwest at daylight, thought by some to be C. Totomi, and erelong C. Izu was seen; a chilly air showed the proximity of the mountains which appeared in the distance about eight o'clock. Many junks were seen near the coast, but not many in our route. The islands lying southeast of C. Izu toward Tatsisio Island showed less plainly, owing to the morning mist, than when I was here in '37, nor was any symptom of volcanic action seen on one of them; the sea was and has been clear of seaweed and pumice until this morning a little was seen of the former. We distanced whatever junks were bound up to Yedo, the two steamers going through the smooth water at an eight-knot pace, and across the Bay of Kawatsu between Capes Izu and Sagami almost no boats were seen; one small craft seeing us coming up rapidly took in sail, turned about and pulled away for Vries Island as if its existence depended on their haste, doubtless to comfort the inhabitants with tidings of the happy luck they had had in not being run over last night. Mount Fusi rose in the distance beyond Cape Izu, with its bifurcated peak, accompanied by many other less elevated points, but all of them concealed more or less with clouds; the mist concealed the coast and hid us too, probably, from the people. The remarkable white rocks along the coast were hidden by the same cause, but a few guns which were ordered to be scaled made our presence known, perhaps,

to those who could not see us. The sight of land diffused a feeling of exhilaration through the whole company, and certainly the dim idea any of us could have of the results of this visit upon us or the Japanese was calculated to excite our minds.

The ships anchored off Uraga about four o'clock, the two steamers being nearest the town. Many boats like scows, full of athletic, naked boatmen, came near. I asked one well-dressed man in the nearest to the gangway to send ashore and request a high officer to come off and take a letter to the Emperor. While talking a second official came up saying, "I talk Dutch," whereupon Mr. Portman told him that the Commodore only wanted to have a high officer to come aboard; he then pointed to the highest one there was to take such a commission, the second governor in Uraga, standing near him, and said that he could not venture to go ashore for any other. After some parley these two were admitted and received by Lieutenant Contee in Captain Buchanan's cabin and told that the President had sent four ships on a peaceful errand to the Emperor with a friendly letter, which it was desired to send up to Yedo with dispatch by a proper person. No answer was given to the questions made about our course, men, equipage, etc., which they were told national vessels never described. The town of Uraga was said to contain 1800 houses, and it was eighteen *ri* or twenty-seven miles to the capital. These officials said they would come to-morrow and receive the letter. The "commandant," as he called himself, had writing paper brought and made a report in official form of what he had heard, which he read to the interpreter, and then took leave. He was enjoined to send all boats away, as we would not go ashore, and they were therefore useless; this was done to as great a degree as one could expect as soon as they went away. Both these men were dressed in black crape upper cloaks and a sort of petticoat, having the coat-of-arms stamped in white on the arms and back; their long swords were taken off as they sat down. The

commandant showed his official insignia, a kind of brass trapezium with a swinging vernier, the rim marked in Chinese figures; he had written rolls containing commands ordering us, as I suppose they would all ships to whom they were presented, to anchor where we were, but he did not offer to show them, as we were already anchored.

Our position was above that of the "Morrison" or "Columbus,"* and it commanded the town; four rockets were sent up before anchoring from Kan-na-zaki, the point seen above the town, probably to inform the capital. The town lies close to the beach, many boats lying off, and appears compact and well built; four forts are near the shore in various places. Most of the boats near the ship bore small square flags marked  others both said to show they belonged to the government; no arms were seen in the boats, but many well-dressed persons had come off to see the ships, and I was somewhat surprised to see them go ashore with so little apparent reluctance when we told the commandant to order them away.

The bay looks as it did sixteen years ago, and the reef of rocks is as I remember; we did not see the town then as we can in this position, but the headland around which we saw boats come and go so often I remember well. The authorities will bring no guns now to drive us off. The coast line from Cape Sagami is well defined—a steep bluff with little beach, well wooded and cultivated here and there, trees along the ridge—these are the features. No preparations of a hostile nature are visible, nor do the forts appear well mounted or manned; nothing is to be seen of all that Bettelheim was so confident of.

About six o'clock the two officials came back with a third and were received as before. They made a long talk about the necessity of taking our letter to Nagasaki, the only place where

* U.S. ship of the line which, under Commodore Biddle, anchored here July 20, 1846, to open negotiations with the Japanese government. The official account of the visit appears in the U.S. Senate Documents, 1851-52, Vol. IX. (Ex. Doc. No. 59.)

Japanese laws allowed its reception, and that the governor on shore could not receive it; we asked them if he took the responsibility of refusing it, and said, that having received our orders to go to Yedo from our own ruler, we were as much obliged to obey as he was; further, that he had told us on the first visit that he would come off to-morrow with a higher officer to receive it, and that he must have known the laws as well then as he did now, two hours after, and if he did not come and get the letter we must take it ashore ourselves. These replies rather cut short their long talk, and they agreed to come for the letter to-morrow as they went over the side. Before leaving the sharp-faced commandant went aft to look at the big gun, asked if it was a Paixhan, took its range to the shore, and then examined the locks of the guns near the gangway; he had evidently a commission to this effect, but we gave him no chance to see much, for we have an object highly desirable to effect as peaceably as possible—that our letter be received without force, so that there be no collision before the government is fully aware of our designs. I pray God to order these combustibles now brought together so that they shall warm each other rather than mutually consume one another.

Friday, July 9th.—Watches were kept during the night on board as if expecting an enemy; and on shore the tinkle of a bell or gong was distinctly heard during the whole night. Several boats full of men were lying off shore at daylight, so that it is not unlikely that watch and ward were maintained by both sides while darkness reigned, and the sight of something like black screens along the shore strengthen this idea. About seven o'clock the highest officer at Uraga, named Yezaimon, attended by two interpreters and four or five others, came off; a parley took place off the gangway as to the object of the visit, rank of the officer, and person they could not see. At last Captain Buchanan was ready to receive them in his room, three only coming up. When seated, Yezaimon stated that he had come aboard to express his official inability to re-

ceive the letter and, though he himself was willing to take it, the laws of the land forbade it. It was replied that the ships would remain here till the letter was received, and that we wished to have a suitable person come aboard to take it; that we had been sent by the President to the Emperor and must execute our commission which weighed upon us as strictly as their laws did on them. Reference being made again to Nagasaki, they were told that we were sent here, and because it was near the palace. The originals of the letter and credence were then shown them, and also the package containing the translations; they showed little or no admiration at them, but wished to know the reason for sending four ships to carry such a box and letter to the Emperor; yet whether the reason assigned, "to show respect to him," fully met their doubts as to the reason for such a force could not be inferred from their looks. A courteous offer of water and supplies was made, which was declined, and Yezaimon added then that he would not come off again before the termination of the four days allowed to send to Yedo, a period they themselves set as the time required to send up and deliberate upon the matter. They were clearly informed of the meaning of a white flag, and also that visits were out of season till after the flags were hoisted in the morning.

During the whole of this interview the bearing of these Japanese was dignified and self-possessed. Yezaimon spoke in a clear voice and, through Tatsnoski, who put it into Dutch for Mr. Portman, I could make out almost all they said; but it would require considerable practice to speak that style, and I am not sorry that one of them knows Dutch so much better than I do Japanese, for I think intercommunication is likely to be more satisfactory. At the close of the interview the interpreter said the officer present was the highest in Uraga, and his name Yezaimon; "What is the name of the captain of this ship?" He was told, and nothing could be more polite than the whole manner of this incident. While I was on the gangway before they came up one said, "Are you an American?"

—"Yes, to be sure I am," I replied in a tone to intimate some surprise at the question, whereat there was a general laugh. Tatsnoski then asked my name and I his; Yezaimon had a brocade pattern of drawers, but a beautiful black gauze jacket, a *kami-shimo*, I suppose they call it. His crest was on his lackered hat also; the boatmen had a blue and white striped livery coat, and looked more decent than the naked fellows yesterday. A flag with 三 marked on it was explained to denote his being of the third rank. Among his attendants was one red-cheeked, girlish looking young man of prepossessing features. A large buccina was taken out of a box, adorned with tassels and having a brass at the vertex, but I could not make out its use. How curious one becomes when allowed to see things and people by glimpses in this way, and unable to ask and explain fully!

We are anchored in twenty-one fathoms, and off Kan-no-zaki forty-three were found, so that we can go further up on occasion. We are fully four miles above Ingersoll's anchorage, and have the peak of Fusi-san visible over Uraga, or Uraka, as Siebold's map has it. On the opposite side of the bay two considerable towns are seen, one of them a resort of boats; the land rises gradually in that direction to no great elevation, but seems to be rather well cultivated. No boats are about the ship, but numbers are sailing in all directions, some of which evidently pass near the ships to see them. The tide runs very strong and various patches of seaweed and Medusa are common. The bay is a fine one, and Mr. Hine has taken a drawing of the shore and below Uraga. Four forts are hereabouts, one of them a recent undertaking, but they show few guns mounted and no strength. Parties of soldiers are stationed on shore to watch our landing, and one boat came so near as to start them up to defend their inviolate territory.

Sunday, July 10th.—Little of interest occurred to-day. The two interpreters came alongside with a new officer, described as being of less rank than the other two whom we have had

on board before. As he had not come to see or say aught respecting the reception of the letter, but on some other business, to explain which he wished to come up, he was not allowed to cross the gangway. The boat bore two flags, one the usual white-black-white one, and another with a figure 5 in red; the men had the blue-white striped jackets we have usually seen; the order and discipline maintained in these boats is superior to Chinese boats. Many boats bearing various flags astern have gone about the ships from time to time, evidently to gratify curiosity; perhaps high dignitaries have come from Yedo to see the big ships of which rumor probably gives full accounts. Soldiers are evidently collecting in our vicinity, and glasses are so constantly in use that no movements of importance along shore escape notice. Trade has not been suspended at all on account of our presence, for the bay is at times alive with boats, and some sixty were counted to-day passing up northward.

All these notices and interruptions tend to distract one's thoughts from the seriousness of the day which, except the formal service at half past ten o'clock, has hardly been referred to as being different from other days. I think to lead a life of godliness on board a man-of-war must require a large measure of the Spirit.

Monday, July 11th.—A surveying expedition was fitted out to-day to explore the bay northward, consisting of a boat from each ship and the "Mississippi" for an escort. They started about nine o'clock and the boats were erelong out of sight around Kan-na-zaki where the Japanese had collected many boats, each containing eight or ten soldiers all accoutred and carrying lances and swords, their banners flying and officers stationed to intercept them. Mr. Bent's boat was nearly surrounded, and if the steamer had not been at hand to support him he would perhaps have been attacked and doubtless compelled to return. Swords were drawn, but the Japanese were content with demonstrating their purpose and drew back as the party came on. About forty-five boats came out against them,

quite enough to have turned them back; no matchlocks or cannon were seen, but may have been concealed. Some officers wore brazen helmets and a sort of cuirass, and some had red jackets. A boat came near the steamer on her return containing an officer or two in rich dresses, but no intercourse was had with them. The boats found deep water about ten miles, and it is thought the city of Yedo was seen in the distance. Great numbers of troops were seen embarking from the low land northeast of us, and beyond the same spot a large city was seen, perhaps Imatomi.

While this party was away, Yezaimon and the interpreter Tatsnoski came off and, after being seated in the cabin and compliments passed, he told Captain Buchanan that it was probable that the letter would be received to-morrow, and that if he came off it doubtless would be taken. We expressed pleasure at hearing this, reiterated our amicable intentions in coming here and told him we expected that his government would receive us in a friendly way. The real design of the visit then was hinted at by an allusion to the steamer, and they were told her object simply was to sound the bay, so that, if we came here again, we should know where was the proper anchorage, and that she was to return in the evening. The two gentlemen were in good spirits, took a glass of wine and seemed pleased at the offer of examining the vessel when they came to-morrow. They soon rose to leave and were unusually polite at departure; one of their flags had a figure six on it. Some of the flags seen ashore and red-jackets, too, to-day had 會 on them.

Tuesday, July 12th.—The appearance of the bay this morning was beautiful from the sun shining through the mist which lay thinly on the water and through which the shores were faintly visible; the whole was carried off by the rising sun. Few vessels were stirring before nine o'clock.

About ten o'clock Yezaimon (whose whole name is Kayamarin Yezaimon 香山連榮清門, with an addition of 永孝, Naga-nori), and the two interpreters came in a large boat to say

that the letter would be received, but that he could not tell exactly the day. This led to explanation, and I was not surprised to see that in their minds the copies had been confounded with the originals, and that they referred to the latter and we to the former ; that they had made an appointment of an envoy to take those, while we supposed them to be hesitating about the transmission of these. The copies were shown them, and Yezaimon refused to take them, preferring to make further application to his superiors to learn their will. The conference was very long from the apprehensions of our visitors and their constant reference to law, so that at last the Commodore sent in his note that he would never go to Nagasaki nor receive aught through the Dutch or Chinese, that he would deliver the originals only to an officer of equal rank or to the Emperor, and that he must see his credentials. It was assured us that the envoy was a high officer, and I suggested that he was the prince of Sagami in whose jurisdiction Uraga lies. A proper place was now preparing for receiving the letter, for there was no public hall suitable in such a place. The need of first receiving the copies was insisted on, and that it was indispensable to meet an equal ; so, after three hours' talk and receiving a paper in Dutch with these points stated clearly, they went ashore to inquire about forwarding the copies, promising to return in an hour or so. During this long confabulation I tried to get some information of a general nature, but they were rather skittish, refusing to tell by pleading ignorance even of the town north of the point, of the name of the opposite town across the bay, and such like matters.

It was four o'clock before the trio came aboard and then to declare decidedly that they had all along understood that the originals were to be received, and that an envoy had come whose credentials should be presented as evidence of his true character beforehand. The principal points were then stated in writing—that the Commodore would deliver the originals and copies together at any designated place on shore, that he would

return for an answer, that he must see the credentials of his host, that he should come ashore with a suitable escort, and that no conference respecting the contents of the papers was expected when they were presented, but merely a ceremonial visit. The constant fear on their part evidently was that we meant more than we said and had designs sub rosa; they were referred to the letters as containing all we came for and told that these must be answered or consulted; hints were also given of our going up the bay.

At our request Tatsnoski showed his swords to the company. The scabbard of one was covered with a white-brown speckled fish skin, which he said was brought from China; perhaps it is from Manchuria; it was smooth and nicely covered the wooden sheath. The other was covered with hair beautifully lackered and wound around. The blade was rather sharp, quite plain, and bright, but not superior to ours, at least judging by the looks; two gold dragons ornamented the ends of the hilt which was long, for two hands, and covered with knotted silk. These swords are worn in a most inconvenient way for our custom of sitting in chairs, but not for their usage of squatting. The prices were twenty and thirty taels for the small and large ones.

After all points were explained they requested to see the engine, and were taken through the ship. The size of the machinery seemed to gratify and amaze them, and every principle of propulsion was explained as well as the time allowed. Yezaimon, on seeing coal, said that Japan produced it in many places, as Firado Island, Awa in Sikokf, and Yamatto, besides others; its uses he knew and was far from making himself foolish, as the man did who got a piece from the "Preble" at Nagasaki. The size of the furnaces and the complicated nature of the machinery drew their wondering gaze. The guns, muskets and all the arrangements of the ship, the small proportion of the sick out of the 300 souls in her, were all informed them, and they observed everything. A daguerrotype pleased them



Commodore Perry landing at Kurihama, 14th July, 1853.

much, they having previously heard of the name. The survey of such a steamer evidently gratified a reasonable curiosity.

From the interpreter Tokoshiuro, 立石得十郎光定, I learned that the *nengo* of the present *cubo* is Kayei, 嘉永, and this his sixth year; his predecessor was Choka, 弘化, and before him was Tenpo, 天保, who ruled when we were here in 1837. These monarchs do not reign so long as their brother emperors at Peking, and I suspect have less power and influence in the state; if the story be true that they are required to resign whenever they are in the minority with the state council on public questions, it is no wonder their reigns are brief. He also gave me the official title of Yezaimon, 浦賀騎士長, which is literally, the "Uraga riding elder scholar," but what this means I do not know; his subordinate who came aboard the ship first, named Nagazhima Saboroske, 中島三郎助, is styled 浦賀騎隊, the "Uraga Rider of a battalion," which is alike obscure; his duties seemed to include those of port warden among others.

Wednesday, July 13th.—The officials did not reach the ship till four o'clock to-day, alleging the non-arrival of the envoy from Yedo until late in the day. Yezaimon brought the credentials of this commission and a translation in Dutch, but no copy in Japanese or Chinese, so that it is impossible to verify the certainty of this translation, though I do not suppose any deception is to be feared. He was rather sensitive when I came up to him to see the paper, and stipulated beforehand that it was not to go out of his hands. The seal was a small round one in the seal character and was stamped once in halves by folding the paper over so as to bisect the impression; the paper was common and the whole was carried in a case in the bosom of the dress. I suggested the propriety of having a copy in the original, but it was overruled. Many points respecting the interview were settled; the place was at Kuri-yama around a point below Uraga, and the size and composition of the escort was inquired into. One difficulty on their part came out, which was the

trouble of seating so many foreigners in a country where the people all squatted, but we told them it was unimportant and the Commodore would take the same accommodation the envoy had.

Three of their attendants walked over the ship while these three were in the cabin, and expressed their thanks afterward at the sight, which was one they had perhaps wished for, since they had often come off before; the oldest of them wished to know if the women in the United States were white, and then where I had learned his language. In explaining the last I told him there were many Japanese sailors abroad. The way in which this man talked gave me the impression that freer intercourse with foreigners would please many thousands of people in Japan if the restriction now existing is divested of all danger and the people can do as they like to their visitors.

The suspicious character of the officials seemed to show itself plainly to-day, but their inquiries may have been forced upon them, and they obliged to ask so many questions to satisfy their superiors who had not had their opportunities.

Tuesday, July 14th.—The squadron was full of bustle this morning, getting arms burnished, boats ready, steam up, men dressed and making all the preparations necessary to go ashore and be prepared for any alternative. About half past seven o'clock the steamers were under weigh, and soon opened the beach around the point and disclosed the preparations made to receive the letters from President Fillmore. The officials, in their boats, were lying off the "Susquehanna" waiting to see the flag hoisted, and about the time our anchor was down they were alongside. There were two boats carrying six officials dressed in full costume who, when seated on deck, presented a most singularly grotesque and piebald appearance blended with a certain degree of richness from the gay colors they wore. The second officer was a conspicuous member of this party, he not having been aboard before since the first day; his dark face and sharp features contrasting with his yellow robe, and his

black socks, hairy bare legs and short trowsers, all showing out from the overalls of his uniform, made him rather an attractive object. I cannot describe the dresses of these men minutely, but the effect was not unpleasant, though in most of them no harmony of colors was aimed at in the uniforms. They all seemed to be in good spirits and amused themselves looking at the officers in their uniforms and other objects.

By ten o'clock the boats had left the steamer and, under the lead of the natives, were pretty much landed before eleven o'clock on the beach at Kuri-hama, 久里濱, opposite the shed erected for our reception and surrounded with striped curtains; Commodore Perry left under a salute and found the escort ready when he landed to conduct him to the house prepared for his audience. There were fifteen boats in all, containing about 300 people, say 112 marines, 40 musicians, 40 officers and a hundred or more sailors. Every one was armed with a sword, a pistol or a musket, and most of the fire-arms were loaded; I borrowed a coat and sword so as to appear like the rest, but my uniform would hardly bear inspection or classification. A jetty had been made of bundles of straw covered with sand and facilitated the landing very greatly. The precaution of bringing down the two steamers to cover the place of meeting made it easy to land from them without exposure to the sun; the bay near shore was deep but full of seaweed growing in long leaves to near the surface, and doubtless full of marine productions.

The place appointed for receiving these letters was a hut set up on the beach, having two small ones behind it, the whole inclosed by white and blue striped curtains hanging from poles; a screen was in front concealing the front of the rooms and a large opening at each end of it, between that and the side curtains, which were prolonged along the beach on each hand for nearly half a mile. The village was in the south of the cove near the corner from whence the "Morrison" was.

fired at, a poor hamlet of 200 thatched huts, mostly concealed from our view by the curtains and the crowd. The hills rose behind, partly cultivated and looking exceedingly fresh and green, inviting us in vain to explore their slopes, for the ridiculous laws interfere to prevent our trespassing on them. Truly, laws which prevent such things must have been brought about by a hard and dear experience, for it is against nature thus to prohibit intercourse between man and man.

The Japanese had placed a row of armed boats near the ends of the curtains, and detachments of troops were stationed before the curtains in close array, standing to their arms, their pennons flying from the curtains and gradually bending down to meet the boats at each end. Some of these troops were dressed in dirty white, in a manner similar to the troops in Egypt, with full breeches and tight stockings; others resembled Chinese troops, and many were in a tightly fitting habit. Horsemen were placed behind one or two curtains who wore brass cuirasses and metallic helmets or something like it. Their horses were large animals, far beyond the Chinese beasts I have seen, in size, and looking like another race than the little Lewchewan ponies. All these troops (numbering about 5000 men, as one of the Japanese told me,) maintained the utmost order, nor did the populace intrude beyond the guard. A few miserable fieldpieces stood in front, not over 4^{16} or 5^{16}er, I should think; many files had muskets with bayonets, others had spears, and most I could not see. Crowds of women were noticed by some near the markee, but I suspect they were not numerous. Altogether, the Japanese had taken great pains to receive us in style, while each side had provided against surprises from the other and prepared against every contingency.

As soon as Commodore Perry landed all fell into procession; Captain Buchanan, who was the first man ashore, had arranged all in their places so that no hindrance took place. The marines, headed by Major Zeilen, led off, he going ahead with a drawn sword; then half of the sailors with one band

playing between the two parties. Two tall blacks heavily armed supported as tall a standard bearer, carrying a commodore's pennant, and went next before two boys carrying the President's letter and the Full Powers in their boxes covered with red baize. The Commodore, supported by Captain Adams and Lieutenant Contee, each wearing chapeaux, then advanced; the interpreters and secretary came next succeeded by Captain Buchanan and the gay-appearing file of officers whose epaulettes, buttons, etc., shone brightly in the sun. A file of sailors and the band, with marines under Captain Slack, finished this remarkable escort. The escort of Von Resanoff at Nagasaki of seven men was denied a landing until they had been stripped of almost everything belonging to a guard of honor; here, fifty years after, a strongly armed escort of 300 Americans do honor to their President's letter at the other end of the empire, the Japanese being anxious only to know the size and arrangement of what they feel themselves powerless to resist. There were fully a thousand charges of ball in the escort besides the contents of the cartridge boxes. Any treachery on their part would have met a serious revenge.

On reaching the front of the markee the two envoys were seen seated on campstools on the left side of a room, twenty feet square or so, matted and covered with red felt; four campstools were ranged on the right side, and a red lacquered box between them. The chief envoy, 戸田伊豆守, Toda, Idzu no kami (Toda, prince of Idzu), and his coadjutor, 井戸石見守, Ido, Iwamè no kami (Ido, prince of Iwamè), rose as the Commodore entered, and the two parties made slight bows to each other. The boys laid the boxes on the floor and the two blacks came in to open them. They were taken out and opened upon the lacquered box, and the packet containing the copies and translations presented by Mr. Contee. Tatsnoske and Yezaimon were both on the floor, and the former commenced the interview by asking if the letters were ready to be delivered. When he made known the reply he put his head nearly to the floor in

speaking to Yezaimon who, on his knees, informed the envoy in a whisper. The receipt for them in Dutch and Japanese was then delivered to Mr. Portman, and the originals themselves opened out in the boxes as they lay. Soon after, Commodore Perry said that in two or three days he intended to leave for Lewchew and China, and would take any letters, etc., for the envoys. This produced no acknowledgment on their part, and he then added that there was a revolution in China by insurgents who had taken Nanking and Amoy, and wished to introduce a new religion. "It will be better not to talk about revolutions at this time," was the significant reply, and proper one too, for I thought it very mal-apropos to bring in such a topic. Yet one might regard it with interest as ominous of the important changes which might now be coming on the Japanese, and of which this interview was a good commencement.

Conversation being thus stopped and no signs of any refreshment appearing, there was nothing else to do than to go. The contrast between its interlocutors was very striking. In the front was a group of foreign officers and behind them the picturesque looking. shaven-pated Japanese in relief against the checked screen; on the left a row of full-dressed officers with swords, epaulettes, etc., all in full lustre; on the right the two envoys and a secretary, with two more plainly dressed men on their knees between the two rows. To describe the robes of these two envoys is difficult. The upper mantilla was a slate-colored brocade kind of silk, made stiff at the shoulders so as to stick out squarely; the girdle a brown color, and the overall trowsers of purplish silk; the swords were not very rich-looking. The coat-of-arms was conspicuous on the sleeves, and some of the undergarments appearing, gave a peculiarly harlequin-like look to his dress, to which the other envoy was accordant. They were immovable and never stirred or hardly spoke during the whole interview; one who tarried a little as we came out said that they relaxed in their stiffness as soon as we had gone, apparently glad that all was over. I got the impression that the

two high men had pursed themselves up to an attitude, and had taken on this demure look as part of it, but others looked on it as a subdued manner as if afraid. The re-embarkation took place gradually, no one being in much of a hurry, and I began to talk to the people and invited two of them on board to see the steamer and a revolver. One man wished to know if the women in America were white; another, how he could learn strategy, to which I replied, "Only by your going abroad or letting us come here." I asked him why there was no music, to which he answered that it was very poor. Considerable curiosity was manifested in comparing swords, and some exchanges were proposed; altogether, this part of the interview was far the pleasantest to both parties, and I suspect the Japanese were sorry to see the show end so soon. Many picked up shells and pebbles to remember the spot, and by one o'clock everybody was back to his place.

Two boats full of people came alongside soon after and stayed on board while we steamed back to Uraga. Yezaimon especially took much interest in seeing the working of such stupendous machinery and inquiring into the manner of turning the wheels. All was made plain as we could explain it, though I fear the ideas were very crudely expressed, for I did not know their language well enough, and Portman seemed not to know the machine well enough.

One of our visitors was the military commander of Uraga, an open-faced, pleasant man who wished to learn something of tactics and the construction of revolvers. One of the pistols was fired off by Captain Buchanan to gratify him and Saboroske, and they had many measurements to take of the cannon on deck; the latter greatly amused us by going throught the manual with a gun he took off the stand, his face pursed up as if he was a valiant hero. This man is altogether the most froward, disagreeable officer we have had on board, and shows badly among the generally polite men we have hitherto had, prying round into everything and turning over all he saw. At our

request the party remained on board while we steamed up to Uraga and then bid us good-bye, having made themselves conspicuous in every part of the ship by their parti-colored dresses. Some refreshments were given them in the cabin, and they went off in good humor.

The receipt given by the two envoys was to this purport: "According to Japanese law it is illegal for any paper to be received from foreign countries except at Nagasaki, but as the Commodore has taken much trouble to bring the letter of the President here, it is notwithstanding received. No conversation can be allowed, and as soon as the documents and the copy are handed over you will leave." The Japanese original is written on very thick paper made from the mulberry (Broussonnetià); the last sentence of it intimated they were to make sail immediately.

The four ships now stood up the bay and anchored about where the "Mississippi" had sounded, some twelve miles above Uraga. Erelong, Yezaimon appeared alongside looking sour enough at this his third visit to the "Susquehanna" to-day. His object was soon explained, and we endeavored to ease his mind in respect to surveying the harbor, telling him that we had told him we were not going to sail immediately, but to go about the bay and seek a better anchorage than that off Uraga for placing our ships next year. The extent of the time we should stay could not be stated, but not likely to exceed four days; we would not land, nor would there be any trouble if the Japanese made none, for our boats were strictly ordered to abstain from theirs. I think he himself was satisfied of our intentions, but his superiors were probably alarmed at the risk and sent him to do what he could to prevent further progress. The interview was rather tedious from its being a struggle, and I suspect the interlocutors were all pleased when it was over. Others from the boat came on board and walked through the ship, and I wish there were more who could have seen her. At this visit and the one earlier in the afternoon many things were shown

our visitors, such as engravings, daguerreotypes and curiosities of various sorts, which tended to relieve the monotony of the visit as well as instruct them a little. I have now learned more fluency by my practice and did considerable side talking.

At eventide we were left alone and thus closed this eventful day, one which will be a day to be noted in the history of Japan, one on which the key was put into the lock and a beginning made to do away with the long seclusion of this nation, for I incline to think that the reception of such a letter in such a public manner involves its consideration if not its acceptance; at least the prestige of determined seclusion on her part is gone after the meeting at Kuri-hama.

Friday, July 15th.—The "Saratoga" and "Plymouth" came up to-day from the anchorage off Uraga in Lat. 35° 15′ N., Long. 139° 49′ E, to join the two steamers at the "American Anchorage" in 35° 23′ N., 139° 41′ E., off a thinly inhabited coast. The shores were much more wooded here than off Uraga, and steeper. North of us on a low projecting point were seen many pennons and increasing crowds of people, perhaps many of them soldiers brought or attracted from Kanagawa and the interjacent country to see us. No signs or words could attract any of the numerous boats to draw even within fair speaking distance. The surveying boats went up in the morning almost out of sight, and in the afternoon the Commodore proceeded in the "Mississippi" over the same and some new ground. The town of Kawasaki stretched along the north bank of the Taba-gawa, a well-placed and populous town. We thought at the time that this was Kanagawa, but by Siebold's map that town lies south and on no stream, a little inland not far from our "American Anchorage," and the people who come on board seem so chary of telling the name of a single place that one cannot feel confident they tell it right when they do give it. There were many vessels entering and more at anchor in the river, which seemed a wide stream near the town. Nothing of

Yedo could be distinguished, but a long, serried row of masts seemed to indicate the position of Shinagawa, the suburb port of the capital. A singular shaped structure in the bay seemed to limit the vessels' going-up track on the east; Sam Patch calls it Boögi and describes it as a tree on an islet. It looked like a steamer coming end on, with an enormous smoke pipe, or a roundhouse with a tower rising from the midst; he said it had nothing to do with ships, and in fact knew almost nothing about it except its existence, and that Yedo was three or four *ri* northwesterly from it. The land east of this was too low to see more than the trees and hills, but no signs of islands appeared from our ship anywhere, and the land rose on the northeast and east shores. We estimated ourselves to be ten miles from Yedo, and turned about at evening in seventeen fathoms, pleased with having had a look at Kawasaki and as far ahead of it as we could see. The shores were well wooded, but the population did not apparently increase as we neared the city, and we were obliged to turn back without a sight of the goal.

On returning to the "Susquehanna" we learned that Yezaimon had come alongside with some presents which were declined until the Commodore could be seen. He looked disappointed, but was told to come again in the morning as soon as the flag was up. A surveying party also returned at evening to report. It had penetrated up a creek where some intercourse with the people had been held from the boats, the whole population, men, women and children, running down to see the foreigners from the beach, and showing much pleasure at the chance. Some water and green peaches were procured from them, and all that was wanted was ability to understand each other. There were some motions made of cutting throats, but no one seemed to regard them otherwise than gestures, and the two parties separated much gratified with their unexpected interview. The country along the creek and coast was pretty but not much settled. It is truly a disappointment to lie off so inviting a country day after day and be obliged to only spy it through

glasses and guess what this and that thing is. Wait till we come again!

Saturday, July 16th.—Off Saru-sima. We came down to this beautiful islet of Saru-sima early this morning; it lies about halfway between Uraga and the "American Anchorage," less than half a mile from the shore, and is perhaps 200 to 225 feet high, prettily wooded and defended by three forts made of earth embankments with wide portholes; the walls of these embankments were grassy and, the scarp of the hill behind being likewise grassy, they were almost masked batteries. Few places along the bay have been better chosen than this islet for defending the passage or for a pleasant residence for troops. The banks along the main land were singularly cultivated in alternate stripes of clearings and copses, giving it a striped look, especially near the village of Otsu.

Almost before we had anchored Yezaimon came pulling alongside bringing the presents; the interpreters came in two boats and showed us a memorandum in Dutch to the effect that the letter of the President sent through the Dutch at Nagasaki had been received, and that probably our present letter would be favorably regarded by the council, but that it rather worked against us (by what manner was not intimated) to be cruising about the bay and examining it as we did. This paper received no notice, being merely a memorandum such as we had given them, and yet its contents were evidently directly pointed to attain our departure as soon as possible by holding out the hope of attaining our end. It is not unlikely, therefore, if we could remain in the bay a month, showing the ships here and there, that the great ends of the mission might be obtained now in order to avoid a second visit.

Yezaimon and his suite took breakfast with Captains Buchanan and Adams and behaved themselves very properly. The presents in return for theirs were ready about nine o'clock, consisting of 1 box of tea, 3 engravings of steamers and a house, 3 History of U.S., 20 ps. of coarse cotton, bale of drillings, a

loaf of sugar, box of champagne and demijohn of whiskey, they declining to receive the 3 swords. Theirs were 5 pieces of brocade, 40 bamboo fans, 50 tobacco pipes and 50 lacquered cups, which were described as merely tokens of remembrance, and they wished us to receive them as personal favors. Considerable discussion ensued on this point; they wished to leave theirs on board and ask permission to take ours in the afternoon, or to send ashore to ask their superiors, but no alternative could be allowed; they must either take ours, or carry their own back again, and we had begun to put them up to be replaced in their boat when they agreed to the least serious alternative for them and went off with the Commodore's presents and list, taking a few other mementos from us who had had most of the conferences with them, such as coins, soap, pictures, etc. I have no doubt they kept the whole themselves, concealing the transaction (as an exchange on equal terms) from their superiors.

During the day a survey of this part of the bay was completed, the two sloops came down to the spot, and when in the afternoon Yezaimon came off to bring a parting douceur of fowls and eggs we were able to reassure him that the squadron would sail in the morning as we had promised him when at breakfast. His assortment of fowls was rather a pretty collection of bantam and other kinds, and he made no objection to receiving a box of seeds, two cakes, bottles of cologne, cherry cordial, maraschino and some cakes of soap, besides a good potation of punch and champagne under his girdle. He was in very good humor with everybody and left us, with all his retinue, about five o'clock, having visited the ship every day since he first came off a week ago this morning. In all his conduct he has shown great propriety, apparently never getting out of humor, and exhibiting no hauteur or acerbity toward his inferiors; listening to whatever was told him with courtesy, whatever its purport.

At this and other interviews we endeavored to please our visitors by showing them pictures of various things, daguerreo-

types and other little articles. I showed the map of Yedo I had, and they pointed out some places on it saying that the city had very much increased in the eighty-six years since the map was drawn; they asked no questions relating to it, and were disinclined to answer many, for geography seems to be a delicate subject whenever alluded to in any way. On their part no general questions were asked, so far as I now remember, at any interview, except the names of those whom they met in conference; nor did they exhibit a single article of curiosity or show the least willingness to exchange anything as mementos except a fan which Yezaimon and I passed.

They cannot, I should think, conceal from themselves that during the last week their government has let down the principle of seclusion it has hitherto maintained in refusing all intercourse with foreign nations, except the pent-up, despicable communications held with the Dutch and Chinese at Nagasaki, which must have tended to exalt their own importance and nourish their conceit in a great degree. Let anyone read Langsdorff's* account of the treatment of the Dutch at Nagasaki, and note their complying demeanor to all the insolence of the officials, and his detail of the indignities Resanoff was obliged to submit to from the same men when he was there in a half crippled condition in a leaky ship, and was put off by the most trifling, impertinent excuses, and compare them with the incidents here given, and he must see that we have made a very different impression upon the government, and led the chief rulers to adopt an entirely different course, whether from fear or deliberative purpose, or whatever other reason. I pray God most humbly to order all future events so that the seclusion hitherto maintained may be removed without any collision and open the way for the introduction of this people to their fellowmen and their gradual elevation in science, arts and true religion.

Sunday, July 17th.—We got under weigh this morning

* Georg Heinrich, Baron von Langsdorff, Voyages and Travels during the years 1803-1807.

and, each steamer taking a sloop in tow, passed out of the bay at the rate of nine knots, in a calm, showing most plainly the power of steam to the thousands who watched us. The houses at Kuri-hama were still standing and the pennons fluttering at most of the forts, with a number of the curtains still stretched out, but not many troops appeared. At the part near Cape Sagami fully a thousand boats were seen, all of them small ones and without sails, each containing six to ten people apparently abroad for no other object than to see the ships depart. To a maritime people, the contrast between their weak junks and slight shallops and these powerful vessels must have made a deep impression.

During the day we passed down among the islands off the bay and noted three not laid down in our charts, which were immediately labeled by our officers after the three ships, the "Plymouth" having already been accommodated with a rock. These islets seemed uninhabited, but this conclusion may be erroneous. Vulcan Island exhibited no smoke and looked invitingly green, so that its fires may have gone out in late years.

Monday, July 25th.—During the last week we have been making slow progress, chiefly owing to bad weather which came on within a few hours of the change of the full moon. "Saratoga" was in tow all day Monday, but her two chief officers were called on board to receive orders, and when they went back took my two Chinese to land in Shanghai on board with them. The two ships let loose their hawsers Tuesday afternoon, and next morning were just in sight ahead. Wednesday we had a strong northeast wind, and Thursday it had increased so that we lay to, heading southeast for twenty-four hours, and then northeast for most part of Friday, the sea being very cross and high, indicating more severity of wind than we had, not far from us. The yards and topmasts were sent down, guns lashed and steam reduced, whereby no damage was sustained. The reason for all this caution was the desire to see and examine the O-

shima Islands which lie north-northeast of Lewchew, after the sea and wind abated, but by Friday noon it was decided to go straight to Napa, and defer their inspection till a more fitting time and pleasanter weather. The wind remained steadily at the east and we made one point of Barrow Bay yesterday morning, and expected to get into port in the evening; but as it thickened up toward night, the Commodore stood off when within only six or eight miles of it and bore away to the south and west. We got up steam early this morning and, after running about twenty-five miles, cast anchor in Napa harbor, the expenditure of coal for this cautious movement being about $500, and Perry almost the only one in favor of it. However, none under him had the responsibility.

As usual, I was so seasick as to be unable to do any work and could get little comfort from Mr. Taylor who was, if anything, rather worse. This penalty is now over, however, and I am thankful we are safely back without any mishap to crews or ships. Many are disappointed in not finding the "Powhatan" in port, but I shall be glad to see the "Plymouth" showing herself off the harbor in good condition, and the "Caprice" following her in like order.

Tuesday, July 26th.—The mayor of Napa has been wise enough to resign his office within a day or two, and his successor, Mau Yuh-lin 毛玉麟, sent his cards off yesterday evening to the Commodore and Captain Lee, and the messengers tried to learn something of our visit to Japan and its results, but I turned them off by promising to return their visit to-morrow and telling them then. This morning, accordingly, Captain Adams and I waited on the new mayor, a far inferior official in his bearing and energy to the former, and apparently older. The other man, I suspect, has had enough of interviews and dinners, and retires to safe retirement before he embroils himself. Several points were submitted to the mayor this morning which he was unprepared to answer directly and did not wish to at all. We thanked the government for erecting a tombstone over the grave

of Pons, and wished to learn the cost in order to repay the same; but as they declined to mention it we told them that they need not put up one over the man buried yesterday from the "Mississippi." The rental of the house at Tumai for a year was demanded, in order to pay it, but they alleged that it was a temple and no rent was charged for occupying it. Room near it was requested on which to get a storehouse built to put coal in, which was to be built by the government and rent paid for it, or else we would have it erected by native workmen. It was demanded of them that the spies who followed officers whenever they walked abroad should be removed by their superiors, and fair warning was given that if any collision took place and injury was received by these tag-tails it would be their fault. Two months had shown that we did them no harm, and we did not wish to have the women and children running from us because these underlings were in sight. We wished also to buy articles, and the Commodore wished particularly to get a great variety of articles—silks, cottons, lacquered ware, china-ware and other products—to put in a museum in Washington. The Commodore also desired to have an interview with the Regent to discuss these points, and it was agreed that I should come to-morrow and learn the time and place for the meeting, as the Regent should appoint. These "heads of discourse" were all written in their presence, and they were advised to deliberate on them satisfactorily to us. We remained there a long time, for we could get no definite answer to these requirements, and, indeed, hardly expected it. I admonished Ichirazichi about the spies and told him that the officers might carry pistols and hurt some of them if they persisted in tagging after and constantly interfering wherever we went; I hope the hint will be passed on to the spies themselves who, after all, are only peaceably doing whatever they have been ordered, and should not suffer. The whole interview was less engaging than previous ones here from the less pleasant manner of the mayor, who took no pains to show the least interest in what was told him. Perhaps this

qualification has been his recommendation to the post at this time.

Wednesday, July 27th.—A long document addressed to the Regent was drawn up this morning and carried ashore by Lieutenant Contee and me to deliver to the mayor. We reached the kung-kwan about noon where we found a smaller coterie of officials than were present yesterday. The paper was a threatening expostulation at being treated so unfriendly,—disallowed access to the markets and shops, followed into every corner and lane by spies who prevented all intercourse, and held at arm's length in a way we would not admit was right nor submit to;—if a change was not made means would be found to bring it about on a return to Napa. The mayor declined opening the envelope, and promised to forward it to Shui. The place we were in, and two o'clock to-morrow, were appointed by the mayor as the time and place for the Commodore to see the Regent, although it was tried to get twelve o'clock as the time. No answer could be got out of them with respect to the demands made yesterday, but answers were promised at the meeting.

Ichirazichi then proposed some questions respecting our visit to Yedo, but after saying that there had been no fighting and we had gone ashore I referred him to the morrow's meeting for all particulars. He asked if the ship which came in this morning was the "Plymouth," and if the steamer "Mississippi" was named from the State of Mississippi, and how many stars we had now in our flag. From these questions I saw that he had been reading the History of the United States given him, and then I asked him some more names and told him that he must go to America next year and see for himself. He demurred on account of the length of the voyage, etc., but perhaps the idea is not unpleasant to him.

After munching melons and cakes, sipping tea, talking and scolding for an hour, we left and made a crooked road back through the town to junk harbor, going through the dirty pork

market and along the creek till we reached the end of the pier. The view of the surf as it came rolling in over the reef was fine. When the boat came for us we took a stroll through a village across the harbor and a pull up to the watering place. The southern bank of the river is very prettily terraced, and everywhere under constant cultivation, showing that much of the supplies of the town are brought from this region. How much this pull reminded me of the attempt we made to see the town of Napa from the "Morrison's" gig by pulling up to the top of the river! Every point and turn seemed to be familiar, though it is probable that what I saw then has all passed out of mind. In the evening a party returned from a visit to an old castle lying southeast of Napa, which was described as being an aggregate of large houses and walls, apparently very old and ruinous, and not so strongly built as the one at Shui.

Thursday, July 28th.—At two o'clock Commodore Perry and suite, seventeen in all, left the ships to pay a visit to the Regent at Napa *kung-kwan*, although we had just learned from a messenger sent off to the ship that he had been ready at noon and was waiting for us; why he was unwilling to agree to have the meeting at noon when requested was not easy to understand. We landed near Capstan Point and, after waiting a while for other boats, and being joined by Dr. Bettelheim at the Commodore's invitation, went directly across to the main street to the kung-kwan where the mayor met us outside of the gate, and the Regent inside; the latter took Perry's arm and led him to his seat, and waited till all had got their places before sitting. Compliments having passed, the Commodore said that he wished to speak upon business before eating, and that he hoped the Regent had deliberated upon the points offered for his consideration two days before and had an answer prepared. The Americans were people of few words and many acts, and wished now to come to a fair understanding, as they meant what they said and no more; that they had come to Lewchew in a friendly spirit and expected to be received in the same way they were in

China. The Regent replied that an answer would be ready, and invited his guests to partake of the eatables spread out before them. He maintained the same impassable, fixed position and look as when on board ship, constantly glancing his eyes about; his co-adjutor indicated little interest in anything. After a little, questions were propounded respecting our doings in Japan, when the Commodore told him that we had visited the Bay of Yedo, had been received in a friendly manner, had gone ashore with about 400 persons to meet the Princes of Idzu and Iwami, when over 5000 spectators were assembled, of whom 1500 were soldiers, had exchanged presents, and gone within thirty li of Yedo, anchoring and sounding in such parts of the bay as we pleased; and, lastly, that we were going back there next year. There were more questions ready, but as they were told all the important points it was deemed best to bring them back to the subject in hand and have them answer our questions first, before talking further upon Japan.

We went on eating awhile, some six or eight courses of stewed dishes following slowly as their forerunners disappeared, when the Commodore called up the Regent's reply; a little before this, Ichirazichi being aside, I asked Bettelheim to tell the Regent that the Commodore thought it would be well to send two of the waiters to the United States to spend a year or two in learning our language, but the official would not hear the remark until it had gone through the lips of one of the té-fu, greatly to Dr. Bettelheim's amusement and perhaps annoyance. The Regent seemed to have been starched up for the occasion and his position was as definite as an orderly serjeant's.

At last the paper came, and the Regent took it, left his seat and went in front of the Commodore and politely handed it to him; he was requested to be seated again till it could be read, and Perry then took his seat. It began by recapitulating all the items given the mayor on Tuesday, word for word as I had written them, as they had been reported by that functionary to him (the Regent). To the proposal to pay rent, it was urged

that the priests who had temporarily vacated the house now occupied by the squadron could not rent their lodging and find another, and therefore it was inconvenient to receive the rental or have it occupied. The demand to have a coal depot near it was turned off by a repetition of their being poor, and that if such a place was erected they would be overwhelmed with care and trouble in looking after it; for Bettelheim had already remained here some years and given them much trouble, and now if we came too, building and lodging, their poor country could not stand it. In regard to buying and selling, they had nothing to do with the proceedings of shopkeepers and marketmen, who opened and shut their shops and sold or retained their wares just as they pleased, but added that their own productions were exceedingly few and manufactures contemptible—all they had coming from China and Japan, of which only a few lots of the silks, chinaware, lacquered ware and cloths came from those countries. The last article, concerning the spies following us, was plainly granted, as we had expressed our dislike of them and said that they were no assistance, protection or use to us when going about. Probably the frequent recurrence to this topic in our interviews, the paper handed in yesterday and the consciousness that a collision might ensue in some bye-path led them to adopt this resolution. It closed with an earnest petition that the Commodore would receive this reply and have compassion on them.

As soon as I had read it he ordered it to be returned to the Regent as being so different from what he expected that he gave it back for further consideration. The poor man came forward again and would have made a kotau if I had not stopped him. The petition would not be received and must be discussed more favorably to us by to-morrow noon, and brought on board, or else the points would be referred to the Prince at Shui, and we should go there with a large party and wait till we got an answer. As to the depot, if they would not build it, or allow us to do so by employing natives, the materials should be brought and the

house erected. Much time would not elapse before the authorities would feel it was best for them to agree to our wishes, for in China we had no trouble in getting such facilities, and there was no danger in their furnishing them here.

The Commodore left in a few moments, and perhaps nothing further could have been said with any avail. It was a struggle between weakness and might, and the islanders must go to the wall; it was as well planned on their part as possible, and they were doubtless disappointed at the result. Taking the question in all its bearings, I really don't pity them much, for the rulers here form an oppressive oligarchy and ride the people to extremes, even to the non-fruition of their own wishes and gain and the continual impoverishment and degradation of the latter. The scene had some tragic features, perhaps many more than appeared, and was in every view a reality to the natives, however much of a dramatic character was mixed with it in our eyes. The seclusion of these islanders must give way, and if nothing worse comes than the granting of these demands they will certainly be the gainers and their policy will have time to adapt itself to the new influences now felt.

Friday, July 29th.—About eleven o'clock the querulous mayor and Ichirazichi came off with two or three others, the old man being evidently discomposed by his trip and the heat; excuses were made for the Regent who may well have been excused from the retraction of his yesterday's petition. The interpreter began by asserting the propriety of the paper presented, but the chief point of refusing the depot was peremptorily overruled by our saying that we should build it ourselves if they did not, and that it must be close by the landing, as the house was too far from the boats. Excuses were made, then, that typhoons would destroy so exposed a house, or thieves pilfer coal lying so remote from careful officials (and here a sad picture of the morals of the people in regard to *meum* and *tuum* was drawn), or laborers would be scarce to erect it, and, lastly, that they would alter the house adjoining the main

building in the yard for this purpose. All these doublings were overruled and the previous question was carried by our appointing a meeting on the ground at two o'clock to stake out the limits; I have little doubt but that they came with this ultimatum from their superiors.

The purchasing of articles and provisions was a mixed question, for we already get the latter (though I scolded them for their non-fulfilment of orders), and I think could not get them with less trouble to ourselves; it is out of the question to have the ships supplied with boats coming alongside, as in China, for a long time to come, and who is to go to the dirty markets and pick up eggs and chickens? The plan now pursued is perhaps more expensive to us and profitable to the officials who are beginning to see the benefits of such a demand, and these two reasons will combine to keep the present way in operation. It was, however, agreed that on Monday an assortment of every article should be spread out in the Napa *kung-kwan*, where the Commodore would go and purchase; particular directions were given as to the assortment and quantity of articles to be bought, but I have great doubts as to the result of this bazaar.

Thus the two main points were conceded, and the interview ended amicably enough, as far as appearances could indicate, drinking and eating meanwhile, so that at the last they had pretty well got over their squeamishness. At two o'clock Captain Buchanan and Adams and I were on the spot, but no officials, for whom we sent off two messengers; meanwhile, we staked out the ground and found that a sufficiently large spot could be marked out without cutting away any trees of size, or intruding on any useful spot. Three o'clock passed away, and they went aboard, leaving me to meet the authorities on whom no gentle words were laid for their tardiness. They came soon after the boat shoved off, and I showed them the place; it was much larger than they had received the idea of from our description, and I was myself unable to do more than refer them to the stakes and marks which were to be the limits. It was much

larger than I had supposed would be wanted, and told them I would speak to the Commodore. They were told that they must clear the ground of the rubbish and grass and a plan would be given them to-morrow. I then went off, for I was hungry enough, in a boat just come, and left them there; by nightfall the area was nearly cleared of all the shrubs, under the direction of three old graybeards who superintended operations seated on a mat, and directed the gnomes who flitted about with wisps and twigs which they had gathered up. The scene was very lively, and I thought the natives greatly enjoyed it.

Saturday, July 30th.—My calculations to visit the old castle to-day were all spoiled by an order to take the plan for the coal depot ashore and explain it to the builders; we found nobody there on arrival and were obliged to wait more than three hours before any responsible person came. The details were all clearly understood by means of the diagrams and the officials required to clear a larger space and put up the shed as soon as possible, to receive the cargo of the "Caprice"—a thatched hut sixty feet by thirty-five, and about ten feet high. I hope those who superintend the job will let the workmen have some of the money received, but I am afraid that they will not get a fair reward; as we drive the officials, they will drive their underlings.

In the evening during my walk I found my way into a literary establishment near the bridge, a series of three buildings pleasantly situated behind the stone wall amid a grove of trees; the doorway had a tablet stating that it had been repaired in the twentieth year of Kienlung (1755) and by the assistance of the Chinese ambassador here. There were four men writing on small stands in the principal room who told me that they studied the Nine Classics, but I could not induce them to show me their books. Several tablets were hung up in the room, and the aspect of the whole grounds was retired and scholastic.

The broad way which ran along the edge of this river is one of the thoroughfares of the town, and we watched the passing crowd with attention for a long time. The groups of women

and children around some stall or basket where pattens or pottery, bean curd or pea-sprouts, were sold engaged our notice by their foolish fear and refusal to have anything to do with us; they would neither take our coppers nor answer our words, the older children shaking their hands in the most seriously comic style. The children are usually pot-bellied and remind me of Egyptian children, both in color and gait. Sometimes a woman, known by her flowing, loose gown to be of a little higher grade, would hurry by us, presenting in her quick step and sidelong glances and turns a growing struggle between fear and curiosity, so that we were sometimes in doubt which would get the mastery; and then would follow a stately official with his girdle largely displayed over his checked dress. Horses overladen and old women carrying heavy baskets on their heads frequently went by; and among the crowds we saw few who were maimed or sickly looking. Most of them were thinly clad. They were generally clean, short and stocky, especially the women who will not average over four feet ten inches, and may challenge comparison with any other country for coarse features and untidy heads. The men are far their superiors, but it must be remembered that we have not seen the women of the officials nor any girls reared with care.

Few officials followed any of our officers this evening, from which we may infer that the system of espionage has been pretty much laid aside. Some who have gone into villages away from Napa have succeeded in getting crowds around them, and further intercourse would doubtless result in our being received everywhere. The sailors in the Japanese junks have generally showed pleasure at our visits, though nothing of any value has been procured there.

We stopped at Dr. Bettelheim's to bid him goodbye, and found others there on a similar errand, more as a mask of respect than goodwill. While his wife has grown in the good opinion of the squadron, he has contrived to get the suspicion or actual dislike of almost everybody. His intrusion into the

interview last Thursday was little pleasing to the principal actors, and tends to mix us up with him in the minds of the native authorities. His proceedings have been so anomalous that I am really unable to say what and how much good he is doing, though I hope he will come out bright at the last, and his work stand the fire. The counsel and opinion of a fellow-laborer would do him service and enable his patrons to form a better judgment.

Sunday, July 31st.—I dined with Captain Lee and Rev. Mr. Jones to-day; the "Mississippi" is a much quieter ship than this on the Sabbath, and to increase the turmoil of washing decks after coaling, most of the men were sent ashore to wash. A dash of rain interrupted our service before Mr. Jones had got through the exordium of an astronomical discourse he had commenced.

Commodore Perry seemed rather pleased this evening to report that most of the timbers for the coal depot were on the ground and the whole would be done erelong—all of which I suppose is to be laid to the effect of the threat to visit Shui.

Monday, August 1st.—About six o'clock this morning I was called to go ashore with Commodore Perry to the bazaar opened for our benefit at the Napa *kung kwan.* We found a larger assortment than I had expected, and all the finer articles were taken, perhaps in all to the amount of $60; if more time had been allowed I think we should have had finer pieces brought in from the dealers, and spent double what we did. There was no porcelain nor many silks, and the whole lot was perhaps not worth over $150, but it will serve as a commencement, and I think the sellers had no cause to complain.

As soon as all returned aboard the anchor was weighed, and we bid goodbye to Napa, the main demands of Thursday's interview having been all granted. It is doubtful to my mind how much influence the threat of going to Shui and occupying the palace had, in inducing acquiescence, in comparison with the announcement made at the same time and subsequently that we should soon leave if these demands were allowed. Yet the

assortment of things this morning showed that the government had made known the opportunity to many traders for them to take advantage of, and I hope none of them lost. The stocks were in one or two cases so soon replenished that the stores could not have been far off, and perhaps even finer ones would gradually have been produced had time allowed. Lacquered bowls and boxes, cotton cloths, silk, and both mixed, hairpins, sashes, shoes, pipes, fans, coarse pottery and umbrellas comprised the list; good prices would have induced them soon to bring more real Japanese lacquered ware.

We have been at this port about thirty days, and doubtless during that time have done much to stir up the Lewchewans, intimidate the authorities, induce them to relax their non-intercourse regulations, and commence treating other nations more openly. We have made them receive pay for provisions and gradually increased the amount of supplies until the ships began to get something nearer adequate to their wants; small purchases were daily made in the markets for the last week, and fewer of the spies tracked our steps, producing also less alarm among the women and children at our presence. The Chinese sent over from Shanghai to Dr. Bettelheim seems to be a man who will teach these rulers some new ideas on civil polity and foreign intercourse, and will less arouse their fears than a foreigner. He made his way into the palace last week where he saw the prince and was civilly received by Mau, one of the Treasurers. At a visit to the mayor's he was also respectfully treated. In breaking up the system of things so long upheld in this island, time and kindness, firmness and justice, united and allowed their fair action, will soon have their due effect. We have begun, I think, in this manner, and I hope will not deviate from it, though I have great fears on the subject.

Tuesday, August 2nd.—This evening, to the gratification of everyone, we met the "Vandalia" on her way to Napa, and obtained letters from her, among which I was happy to find one for me informing me that all at Macao and Canton were in good

health a week ago. It is something of an event for three United States men of war to meet in these unfrequented seas.

Saturday, August 6th.—Last evening the squadron anchored in Hongkong harbor and, to the regret of all, heard that the "Powhatan" had sailed for Lewchew Saturday morning; she would have been intercepted if the "Mississippi" had gone on ahead of us, as she might easily have done.

I find that friends are, in general, well. I mean to start this evening in a fast boat for Macao, having missed the steamer this morning. Thus ends the first acts in the Expedition to Japan.

Wednesday, January 11th, 1854.—Since I left the "Mississippi" and "Susquehanna" at Hongkong I have been engaged in carrying on the Fan Wan* which yesterday reached the 400th page. In October, while at Macao, either through exposure to the sun or the effects of a cold and malaria, I was taken sick with a low, nervous fever which reduced me very much; it was the first sickness I have had since childhood, and I bless God for recovered health at this day, so that I can leave in health to rejoin the Expedition at Hongkong. I depart from my home in full confidence of my being where duty calls me, and leave my family under the care and governance of our heavenly Father who has hitherto watched over us all. Mr. Bonney has, unwillingly, taken care of the office again until I return, after which, if I am permitted to do so, he will leave for the United States. I have secured the assistance of Lo, a teacher of good attainments and no opium smoker, so that I hope to do more study than I did before.

Tuesday, January 17th.—I came on board the "Susquehanna" on Friday evening, having learned that the squadron sails early in the morning. The officers all anxiously hoped that the mail would come before the ships leave, but the Commodore would not wait for it; happily it arrived about ten o'clock in

* The author's *Ying Wa Fan Wan Tsüt Ju*, or "Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect," published in 1856.

the evening. I saw the Bishop on Friday, and he wishes to hasten on Bettelheim's labors as a translator of the SS. so that the Bible Society can have somewhat to print. Mr. and Mrs. Morton expect to sail on Tuesday for Lewchew in a ship bound for California. While at Hongkong I remained at Mr. Johnson's where also the officers have often frequented and been pleasantly entertained.

All being ready, the ships weighed anchor about nine o'clock on Saturday and steamed out of Hongkong harbor, saluting Admiral Pellew's ship as the flagship passed her in return for her salute of thirteen guns; the "Powhatan" took the "Lexington" storeship in tow, and the "Mississippi" took the "Southampton," and all moved out nearly simultaneously through the Ly-u-moon passage.

To-day we have passed the southern end of Formosa, progressing rapidly on our course; the sea is smooth and a fair view has been obtained of the shore, distant about two and a half miles, which offers few signs of inhabitants, some cultivated and stubble patches, a house or two, and roads leading inland. Many places might be reckoned as villages from the smoke which issued from them, but they were far off and could not be distinguished. Most of the shore was covered with low woods, and large areas appeared as if untouched by man. The soil was generally good enough to produce grass or trees, and no bleak, barren patches speckled the hillsides as about Hongkong. The hills rose gradually to the mountain ridge, one peak of which was estimated to be twenty-five miles off and over 3,000 feet high, and doubtless constituted a portion of the chain which forms the backbone of the island. This portion of Formosa has been lately made infamous by the capture of the "Larpent's" crew after she was wrecked, most of whom were hereabouts driven ashore and murdered by savage natives, a few having obtained safety among Chinese villages and finally escaped to the "Antelope" as she passed through this strait in their sight. Such miscreants as dwell at this end of Formosa should be severely

dealt with; perhaps the desolate aspect of the apparently fertile coast may be owing to their driving away peaceable settlers and being themselves afraid of living within reach of outsiders. Some blackfish and two black terns were seen as we passed the straits.

Sunday, January 22nd,—Lewchew.

We reached the harbor of Napa last evening at sunset, finding the "Macedonian," "Vandalia" and "Supply" at anchor here and their officers pleased to see us. Mr. Bettelheim also was soon aboard, and reported that the authorities seem to have made up their minds to endure, in our visits and remaining here, what they cannot cure or prevent. To-day has been a complete turmoil in the squadron from the orders which have come out from Washington to put one of the steamers at the service of Mr. McLane* and take him about. The Commodore moves himself and suite into the "Powhatan," which necessitates some other changes and a good deal of work. Service was held to-day and then the orders were made known, which of course set everybody a talking and utterly destroyed all seriousness. Added to the bustle on board a deputation came from the mayor of Napa to salute the Commodore, and their members wearied out nearly an hour in the captain's room saying little and making him (Captain B.) nervous. From them we learned that the old Regent is still living at Shui, rather infirm; that the new one and the mayor are the same as when we left in August and that junks begin to arrive from Satzuma in March. Towards evening a present of a bullock, two goats, two hogs, fifteen chickens, eggs, turnips and potatoes came off from the mayor to the Commodore. The manner in which the Lewchewans tie up eggs in straw by plaiting them lengthwise inside of alternating strands is very pretty and safe, and prevents their breaking with usual care. These things were received and their bearers at last went home.

Monday, January 23rd.—Napa.

* Robert M. McLane, United States Commissioner in China.

This morning I was early aroused by the noise of hammers and chisels and the voices of workmen who, beginning to pull up the fastenings of the house and take down its partitions, gave me no peace. All this was preparatory to moving on board the "Powhatan," where the Commodore and his suite are to remain until the cruise is over, as the "Susquehanna" is to return to Hongkong to receive Mr. McLane. We are all much inconvenienced by the change, and the artists more than others, as they are sent on shore to do the best they can at Tumai in the house hired there, cheerless and dirty as it is. I am meanwhile placed in the cabin.

About ten o'clock I went ashore to return the mayor's deputy's visit of yesterday, accompanied by Lieutenant Brown as the Commodore's deputy. We went directly to the kung-kwan of Napa instead of going to Dr. Bettelheim's, and there waited two hours for Ichirazichi and the mayor to come. Meanwhile, a pleasant man whose ancestors came from Fuhchau about 120 years ago made himself agreeable to us. At last the officials arrived and we gave them the Commodore's salutations and told them our message—that he intended to take a trip into the country in a week to be absent three days or so, requesting them to prepare a cortege of coolies, chair-bearers and guides, with eight or ten horses to ride on and carry baggage. These intimations did not at all please them, and various obstacles were interposed, such as the distance and a separate jurisdiction of the northern part of the island, over which the mayor had no control. He was then requested to inform the proper authorities of the proposed visit and, furthermore, to tell the Regent that Perry intended to see him and pay him a visit while in port. The interpreter hoped that the Commodore would pay this proposed visit at the kung-kwan and not at Shui. This I said was against all usage and could not be allowed. So we came away.

In the evening I went with Dr. Wilson of the "Supply" to see a neat little garden made with coral in fancy garden style, in

terraces and pools, with dwarfed pines and other plants, miniature houses and pavilions, all in the neatest style on an area of about twenty feet square. Some gold fish and other kinds were swimming in the lower pool. The inmates of the house were very affable, but we could not communicate much with them. I am told there are many such fancy imitations in Shui, all perhaps taken from larger Chinese originals. During the rest of the afternoon we saw perhaps a dozen people transplanting rice which is here allowed to grow much higher before being put into its new bed than in China. Dr. Morrow killed a kingfisher this afternoon, of a steel blue and bluish green plumage, different in several points from those common near Macao. Also a plain gray-brown crane which is common on the shore; it is two feet high and has yellow irides and is speckled black on the yellow legs; named *ko-sáji*, and the kingfisher is *káuzúi*.

Tuesday, January 24th.—This morning went again to the mayor's at Napa, Captain Pope and Lieutenant Brown being deputies of the Commodore's. The time of waiting was spent at Dr. Bettelheim's whom I found most anxious to get away to China as soon as Mr. Morton comes, The message to the old mayor was to ascertain the price of building the coal shed and cost of materials, so that the bill may be settled and right of ownership established by the receipt of the authorities for it. Also to have him see that the horses and coolies needed for the excursion be in readiness at Tumai. My teacher is greatly amused at these people, their beggarly equipages and aspect, the way in which they go about half dressed and their unwillingness to sell provisions. One man told him, "What use can we make of your money? If you'll give us a piece of pork we'll give you potatoes, for then we shall have somewhat to eat, but we can't eat cash." Thus the avaricious officials appropriate all the profits of the purchases of provisions for the fleet.

After leaving the mayor's we were met by Ichirazichi who said the Regent and Treasurer were in waiting at Tumai, unable to get off to see the Commodore. I went alone to see him and

received the cards with the spirits and cakes he was to have taken off; further effort was made to deprecate the proposed visit to Shui, but I told them 'twas out of the question. Lo's idea that it would do these officials good to bamboo them to teach them manners is not far from the truth. However, God's purposes may not yet be ready thus to deal with them; but their nonsense and prevarication are very provoking, while it is really, too, about the only weapon they possess. Active efforts to oppose us they cannot bring to bear, and passive resistance is their only alternative.

I dined to-day at Dr. Bettelheim's with Morrow and passed the afternoon there. Mr. Crosby, the third assistant engineer of this ship, was buried to-day at Tumai where now rest some six bodies from the fleet, over all of whom, except him, the Lewchewans have built solid stone tombs and plastered them nicely without any demand for payment.

Saturday, January 28th.—Napa.

The three last days have been so stormy, and the swell and surf have rolled in so high that few or no boats have left the ships and very little work has been done. The Commodore gave a dinner to Captains Boyle and Glasson of the storeships yesterday.

This morning as usual I went to see the effete old mayor of Napa to urge him to do what I suppose he finds difficult enough, viz., to get our request fulfilled. The means of defense this people possess lie chiefly in their weakness and in constantly saying that they have not this and can't do that, and to weary us out by delaying and excuses. The Commodore wished to-day to get coins in exchange for American coins we showed the mayor, and straightway the querulous old man began to say there were no coins in the country, that the Japanese never brought any coins to Lewchew where no one used them, and ended by declaring that as there were none, so none could be got. His assistants took an order, however, for a large chow-chow box, ten lacquered tumblers and a punch bowl of lacquer,

to be done when we return from Japan, which they made no objection to doing. It is exceedingly provoking to hear the lies and nonsensical excuses made by these officials, when all that is necessary is for them to let their people do as they please, sell all that we ask for and keep themselves away. Another thing wanted to-day was the bill for erecting the coal houses, and this too they boggled at as if it was some new thing; when they learn to take our words just as we say them there will be a great advance on present intercourse.

In the afternoon a large lot of presents were sent ashore—a box of drills, a dozen of champagne and cherry cordial, a box of 35 pounds sperm candles and a box of Oolong for the Regent, together with a small chest of tea for the first and second Treasurers, all of which valuable articles were delivered in exchange for the saki and gingerbread handed in by the Regent and taken by the interpreter. I also told him not to fail in getting the coins, as we were determined to have them; indeed, I have an idea that a good deal of the hindrance we find is owing to this Ichirazichi who may be compelled to this course by his superiors. The jaunt into the country is now delayed a few days.

Sunday, January 29th.—Napa.

Although to-day is Sunday there is little cessation from work or business, and if God adds his blessing and enables us to carry out the design of the Expedition it will not be because of or in answer to our prayers or regard for him, but because we are used as Nebuchadnezzar, the ax-helve, was, to carry out what falls in with his plans. In fact, no regard seems to be paid here to whatever scruples a man may have about doing work on the Sabbath. Mr. Brown went ashore to see the officials about wood, boats and coins, all of them objects of minor importance and easily deferable to another day. Dr. Smith was also ordered to go ashore to see about a man lying in the hospital with a broken thigh, which service was really no more called for than if he had been sent

to see the condition of the boats lying on the beach. In truth, God's day and, by consequence, others of his laws are made to give in to the will of one man, or else the subordinate subjects himself to the penalty of disobedience or mutiny, of which every officer at least is very jealous of incurring even a suspicion.

Monday, January 30th.—On going ashore with Captain Adams and Lieutenant Brown to meet officers at the mayor's hall, we saw many signs of the new year like those known in China, among which the renewal of the papers with inscriptions on the doorposts, the numbers of well-dressed people and children and the clean streets were the most conspicuous. The markets were generally open, however, and one or two mechanics were at work. The streets were not thronged as much as usual. At the kung-kwan we met the Treasurer who had been waiting for us, and had a session of two hours during which we obtained a receipt for the erection of the coal-shed and for the rent of the hospital for six months to March 1st at $40 per annum. The cost of the coal-shed was placed at $90. While other matters were talked about, Rev. Mr. Jones came in to engage bearers to take him and a party to the north of the island to-morrow to investigate Lieutenant Whiting's report concerning a coal and iron mine in the region of Port Melville. The facility of having higher officers in concluding matters was here seen, for our demand for boats to take off ballast, coolies to carry this exploring party, and to take pay for the coal-shed were fairly complied with. I told the Treasurer that the Lewchewans were as difficult to take money as a sick child was to take medicine. Our request to exchange coins was waived as before by a firm denial that any were procurable, although I adduced the proof of Japanese coins having been got of Lewchewans in Fuhchau; perhaps this demand trenches on their desire to disavow all knowledge and presence of Japanese.

In the evening the interpreter came to Tumai and received the $110 for rent, etc., which was settled after a long discussion.

In signing their names in Chinese he and his fellow added a rubric very much like the Spaniards, formed of two or three characters; it seems to answer instead of a seal.

Tuesday, January 31st.—Napa.

I was employed on board all day preparing a document to take to the Regent himself, in which the Commodore takes a firmer stand, and tells the officers of this petty island that he can no longer submit to their subterfuges and nonsense. One cause of this move is that he sent off his steward this morning to get some fish from the boats out on the reef, and they fled; and on going ashore he fared no better, as there were none in the market. So the Commodore, instead of fish for his breakfast, got nothing but a blue-slate crane which his messenger had picked up somewhere. Furthermore, the demand he has made for coins has been met with a firm denial, that no such things are known or brought except cash, while he learns to-day (through a native who has thrown himself on our kindness and paddled off to the ship Sunday night, desiring to go off with us), that many Japanese coins are brought here, though they are not in circulation. Again, Lieutenant Whiting has brought a specimen of powder he procured at a mill he came across in his survey, while all kinds of arms and powder have been often asserted to be unknown in the island. Taking all these things together, the Commodore is going to talk "strong" to them and see what effect it will have, especially as he is soon to leave for Yedo, and all that we do here is reported there and may influence our reception there.

Wednesday, February 1st.—Napa.

Early this morning the marines were sent ashore under Captain Slack's order to drill, and Lieutenant Brown, Mr. Perry and I were off by a quarter past seven, A.M., to take the Commodore's letter up to Shui and give to the Regent himself. We met the marines near the bridge and, joined by Mr. Eldridge, went up to Shui with them. As we neared the capital the music and arms of the men attracted atten-

tion and the people came running out to see the show; but it was when we saw the Regent and Treasurer coming out in a great hurry to see what the matter was that the extreme confusion this sudden visit had thrown them all into was best exhibited. They conducted us four into the hall and began to make preparations to make the empty chamber fit to receive us, mixed up with questions to us, orders to the servants and a half unsatisfied, terrified air which showed how scared they were. I gave them the paper, told them the Commodore was coming on Friday to the capital to pay his respects to the Prince, and wished them to have horses, chairs and bearers in attendance at Tumai. They made apologies, and hoped that the Commodore would receive his visit at Napa, for the Prince was young and his mother was sick, etc., but we got up to leave, declining their refreshments and reiterating the orders we had received. They made efforts to have us stay, and had not fully recovered from their alarm when we came away, but as there was nothing to be said more it was thought best to decline. The marines had gone on up to the palace gates, where a large crowd was gathered to see them, and we told the officials we had nothing to do with their movements, that they had come ashore for exercise and marched up to Shui to entertain the people of the capital with a new-year's show. On our return we had got nearly half way back before we heard the music striking up, and this mingled with the pleasant breeze soughing through the pines, and at intervals the sheen of the guns and uniforms as the company came in our sight, rendered it a very pleasant and pretty show. I expect the effect on the officials will be salutary in a reasonable degree and make the people used to us.

In the afternoon I strolled through the streets with the teacher and we found our way into a number of places he had not seen before, one of which was the graveyard near Dr. Bettelheim's. In this place most of the tombstones were placed on pedestals, each monument being in the midst of a square inclosure made by a low stone wall; the stone was soft, fine red-

sandstone or a whitish rock-like tufa. Some of the epitaphs were dated in Kienlung's or Kiaking's reign, but all the recent ones were dated in the reign of the siogouns Kayei, Tiupo, or others, from which one might infer that Japanese were buried here, or that stricter oversight was taken of the acknowledgment made of the Chinese by the Lewchewans. Most of them commenced with 歸元 or 歸眞 or 歸空, i.e. "returned to his original," or to "certainty," or to "nothing," "emptiness," "annihilation." I could get no one to tell me about them, but the epitaphs indicated official rank. The oldest grave was not over a century. A few had hirakana writing on the side of the intaglio-cartouch containing the Chinese inscription; and one or two others were wrought into a square pillar placed on its end and surmounted with a roof, all of stone. The common style of inscription is here given:

乾隆二十一年
歸眞惟安澈心居士靈位
四月十四日

The seat (or throne) of the spirit of the retired scholar Wei-ngan, styled also Cheh-sin, who returned to certainty on the 14th of the 4th month in the 21st year of Kien-lung.

The temple near by is a small building and at this time was filled in its principal room by a dozen or more men who seemed to have nothing to do better than to smoke and look at each other. The walls were hung with a variety of tablets such as are common in Buddhistic establishments.

Thursday, February 2nd.—Napa.

I was ashore this morning to see the mayor respecting the visit to Shui, when I was told that the Regent and officers were about disembarking to go to the flagship, and had to hurry off across the salt-pans to see them before they left. I was in time, got into the boat with them, and we had chairs arranged for them on deck, as Perry declined to see them. They brought a reply to the paper taken yesterday, in which they promise to order the people not to run away, to supply all the provisions sent for and to act with truthfulness, in which last they have promised more than they can perform, I think. They made many excuses for not being able to let the Commodore see the Prince or Dowager and, although they were willing to let him into the palace, it was inexpedient for him to see them; it was not until this was agreed to that they were made easy. There must be some reason for this difficulty which they do not like to let us know, perhaps because it verges too near to the Japanese rule. There was as much difficulty in this respect now as there was last summer, and perhaps it has been made more stringent upon them since then, although from the description of Bettelheim's Chinese who saw him last August, there is such a person, and I am told he often goes abroad.* However, it was agreed to, and at this they left in better humor than they came up.

Friday, February 3rd.—Napa.

The morning was so threatening that it was not till nearly seven o'clock that the Commodore concluded to go to Shui. The marines were sent ashore immediately and Perry left at half past eight o'clock with the promise of a fine day. Eight stout fellows were on hand to carry him in his sedan and we started at half past nine o'clock; the number of officers was less than at the visit last summer, and the absence of the fieldpieces made it a less imposing escort.

* Doubt is expressed in Commodore Perry's Narrative of the actual existence of such a person.

The Regent and his associates received us in the palace where they had laid out a number of tables in the same room in which we were received last summer. Formal professions and salutations were exchanged, and the Commodore brought out his coins for exchanging with them, the Regent evidently unwilling to receive them; There were nine sorts, valued at $49\frac{1}{4}$ in all, and they said they would do all they could to get their weight in Japanese coins, but declared to the last their non-possession of such and the difficulty of doing as we desired. After a few other compliments we rose and went off to the Regent's, no Prince being brought out for us to see.

At his residence we found the tables all laid out for a dinner and the various dishes brought on, to the number of twelve or fourteen, proved to be far more palatable than any we had previously tasted. They were all cooked as stews and there was great similarity in the gravy, but not so much in the viands. The whole went off in good humor and we left on our return at eleven o'clock, the Regent accompanying us to the outer door. The walk back was a delightful one, the fresh air and charming scenery exhilarating us all; in fact, no one can get tired of the views on the way up to Shui, and the industry of the village is nowhere better seen. After we reached the ship the presents made to every guest were assorted—fans, tobacco pouches and paper to each, cloth, tobacco-leaf, etc., to the officials.

In the evening I took a stroll with Dr. Smith, visiting the markets and finding the old women well disposed to sell, and one would be disposed to buy if they had anything worth having.

Saturday, February 4th.—I was ashore at the Napa kung-kwan to-day to see after the Japanese coins, but none were to be had; they declare that they have none and I begin to believe them. They soon produced a bill of charges for the supplies and labor furnished Lieutenant Whiting in his survey at the north, amounting in all to $108, more than as much again as he had judged. So, if they will not let us have coins, they are

learning to like ours and to charge round prices for all their little island furnishes. In their reply to the communication taken to Shui on Wednesday they say that Lewchew is a "little out-of-the-way island off in a corner of the sea" and entreat the Commodore in the greatness of his kindness to have compassion on them, and promise to do all he wishes; but this talk is all subterfuge and may be taken for nothing. However, as it was, I took advantage of it to get some supplies for the engineer's mess and some sailors from the "Mississippi," telling two of the sailors to go into the market and get some stores for themselves, which they managed to do. The sailors have contrived to supply themselves with many things from the markets during the time we have been here, and have quite brought over the old women there to think they are good customers.

Sunday, February 5th.—I was unable to move to the "Powhatan" yesterday, and I had hardly gone aboard that ship when I was sent for by the Commodore. I took a final order for the Regent to have the coins ready on his return from Japan, telling him that we would know whether his professions were real by his getting them. I knew that Lieutenant Brown had gone for them, to make a last trial, and was quite sure he would not succeed. On reaching the flagship I saw a large number of presents with cards, in return for those handed in on Friday, spread out on the deck; these were in return for the barrel of whiskey and flour and a lot of garden tools given them yesterday. They were all received, and the boats had left for the shore when Lieutenant Brown and Ichirazichi came off, bringing back our coins and a paper from the Regent stating his inability to obtain any in exchange. The Commodore declined to see them, but on hearing the paper read ordered all the presents back into the boat and gave them his own communication to take to the Regent with the coins he had given him at the palace. In doing this I think Perry acted like a disappointed child, and was piqued at being unable to effect the exchange of coins he had set his heart on. He bids me tell

them that he asks only for what is reasonable, and that the exchange of national coins is a sign of friendship; these islanders are known and allowed to have no mint of their own, but a breach of amity is made to depend on their furnishing the coins of another land, which they deny to have or be able to get. I think this matter was carried much too far and, as I will tell no lie for Perry or anyone else, I never told them he asked only what is reasonable. I was much vexed at the rejection of these sundries and hoped the Regent would send the shovels and hoes, flour and whiskey, presented to him yesterday, back in like manner. He has doubtless exerted himself and can do so still farther, and it was well to leave our coins in his hands, but that matter, as Ichirazichi said, had nothing to do with the presents sent. If the coins desired were Lewchewan the case would be materially altered; as it is, I think Perry is in the wrong in pressing the exchange to such a degree.

Monday, February 6th.—A signal was made for me this morning early and, on reaching the "Susquehanna," I found Mr. Randal there and the list of the presents brought off yesterday lying on the table. He said the articles themselves were then at the house in Tumai, and that the interpreter had been with him yesterday, apparently very desirous of getting off to the ship. On going ashore with him I sent for Ichirazichi who came after a long delay and said he had nothing to do further in the matter, that the list had been brought there and that the communication had been sent up to Shui, but no coins had yet been procured. However, we got pigs, poultry and potatoes which are now more valuable than coins, in my opinion, the purveyors having bestirred themselves on seeing their profits were departing and brought down the largest lot of eatables to the beach that had before been seen in Lewchew. I pitied this interpreter, for I doubt not he is in an unpleasant dilemma, and would willingly sell all these presents to relieve himself from the difficulty of taking them back to Shui. He perhaps states things pretty much as he desires them to be, and a course of

such conduct soon brings him into some troublesome explanations, though in the main I doubt not that he is honest.

The Commodore thinks that as he has once set out to get the coins and believes that they are to be found in the country, it will not do to retreat from the attempt, and such a determination is the best way of dealing if we were sure the coins were to be had by them after a little pressure. The matter is now left until we come back, and I am inclined to think the authorities will try to get some if possible.

After dinner half a dozen of us went to Shui, attracted by the pleasant afternoon, to take a stroll. The country looks exceedingly pretty, freshened as it has been by the recent rains and brought out in all its beauty by the high cultivation it is under. We got up to the highest part of the castle walls and enjoyed the pleasant view in all directions by the light of the setting sun which cast a cheerful glow over the charming landscape. Few prospects could delight the eye more, but how great an increase of interest would be given to it if one could feel that these villages and towns were the abode of a Christian people!

Tuesday, February 7th.—This morning all the steamers were under way betimes for the Land of the Rising Sun, and we had hardly gone fifteen miles before the "Saratoga" came in sight, she having been seen, it was supposed, by a light the night before, when a gun was fired from the flagship. After a short stoppage and a visit to the "Susquehanna" by the captain, she went on to Napa, leaving some of her cattle and sheep on the "Mississippi." By her I had a line from Shanghai, which the rebels still had in their possession, but trade was going on pretty much as ever, fighting on one side of the town and trafficking on the other.

During the latter part of the day we came in sight of O-sima, the large island lying north of Lewchew and appearing in its general features not unlike that island, low, wooded and cultivated. Whether it supports as dense a population is doubtful.

Saturday, February 11th.—We have been highly favored in our trip to Japan, having had smooth seas and, for a part of the way, fair winds. The high land of Idzu and the islands off the Bay of Yedo came in sight this afternoon and a patch of rocks, too, which are said not to have been seen on the former trip. The winds have become very piercing though the thermometer indicates not much more than 40° Fah. As it was toward evening the Commodore lay off the mouth, drifting about until the morning, although the moon gave sufficient light to see the land by. It is a bitter night in the rainy, driving, north winds, and we ought to be thankful for protecting mercies.

Sunday, February 12th.—The steamers were all pressing on towards the land which was almost everywhere white with snow on the hills. As we neared it below Cape Idzu we erelong described two of our ships and ran up a coast none of us were at first able to recognize; and judging that Oo-sima or Volcano Island was correctly laid down, supposed it to be off Cape King on the eastern side of the Bay of Yedo. It was ascertained, however, after a time, that we were in the Bay of Simoda where the British man-of-war, "Mariner," anchored in 1850; and where too we soon learned that the "Macedonian" was ashore. Consequently, she must first be got off, and this the "Mississippi" did, dragging her into deep water, when all the ships lay for the night where they were, the "Lexington" coming up in the evening from sea. Some towns of considerable size were observed along this bay, but not many boats were seen, owing probably to the cold wind deterring all coming out for mere curiosity. The news of our arrival was perhaps made known by some of the fires we saw lighted on the beach and hills, but more likely by couriers started for the capital.

Monday, February 13th.—At anchor above Saru-sima.

During the night the wind went down, and the bay become smooth as could be wished. Towards sunrise one of the most glorious scenes ever beheld was to be seen by those who were up, but I was not out till after sunrise. Mount Fusi lay right

before us clothed with a pure mantle of snow, and all the high points of the landscape were of the same dazzling white, including the island of Oo-sima, from which the smoke now could plainly be seen rising and settling in a lustrous cloud above the summit, through which the rays of the sun shed a peculiar brightness. The shores of the bay were destitute of snow, and the dun brown of some parts with the dull green of the pineries added other contrasting shades to the snow, rendering the whole variegated and beautiful. As the sun rose to view, the tops of Fusi and other hills were touched with a roseate hue which disappeared as it came further up, but the brilliancy of the whole compensated for this transitory charm. It was a magnificent sight in every respect.

By noon the six ships, each steamer towing a ship, were off the town of Uraga, but the Commodore passed on until he came to the American Anchorage some miles above Saru-sima, or Monkey Island, where we all anchored, the "Southampton" having been already here three days, and often visited by the officials with whom Captain Boyle managed to communicate. The coast was destitute of snow, but its bleak, dun color gave it quite a different aspect, so that one might well doubt its identity.

In the afternoon, after having dodged here and there for an hour or two in pursuit of us, the Japanese officials came off to us, four in number, two military men whom we saw last July at Kuri-hama and the two interpreters. They came to the "Powhatan" after having visited the flagship, and were received in the deck-cabin by Captain Adams. Their chief object was to inform us that a person of higher rank was coming aboard tomorrow to consult respecting an interview and the reception of the Emperor's letter. They wished to know why we had anchored so far above Uraga, from which it was a long way for them to come, and desired us to go down off that town, at least in one vessel, so that we should be more accessible; this move was declined on account of the more secure anchorage at present occupied where there was no fear of winds. Their proposi-

tion was made evidently only to make it more convenient for them to get off to us, though a dislike of our going nearer the capital may have had its influence. In windy weather it would be a dreary sail for them to come up in open boats from Uraga, though they can come a good way by land and save the boating. They left in good spirits and towards the last intimated that the answer to the President's letter would be a favorable one. The number of attendants was greater than Yezaimon brought with him last year, but all equally well bred as those.

Tuesday, February 14th.—American Anchorage.

The official spoken of yesterday came about noon with two colleagues. The name of the first was Kurokawa Kahiyōye, 黑川嘉與勝, and, as near as we could ascertain, he filled the post of prefect in the principality of Idzu, resident at Uraga, a higher officer than Yezaimon and, from the imperial coat of lily-leaf arms worked on his breast under the outer tunic, perhaps connected with the supreme government as a deputy on its part in this important port. His coadjutors were called Yoshioka Motohei, 吉岡元平, and Hirayama Kenziro, 平山謙二郎, whose official position we did not learn, but one of them was evidently nearly equal in counsel to the principal man. More attendants came than yesterday, one of whom was a lad who maintained his post close by Kahiyōye amid all the confusion, holding his master's long sword bolt upright in his hand during the long interview. It reminded one of the pages of the middle ages whose duties comprised such services.

After accommodating the party with chairs as well as we could, and some of them with other conveniences too, the interview commenced with their making an apology for not coming sooner by reason of the distance from Uraga, and begging us to move at least one of the ships down opposite that town for convenience of their going to and fro. It presently was evident that these officials came to arrange about an interview on shore with an envoy from Yedo who they observed had the answer from the Emperor to deliver; and that as the

President's letter was of so polite and pacific a character, the reply would likewise be favorable, and they hoped we should be able to arrange amicably for this interview. They then said that Hamakawa, a town in the Bay of Simoda near where the "Macedonian" grounded, was a very convenient and large place for it, but this town was decidedly rejected. At last they intimated that as the town of Uraga had been selected by the government at Yedo they had no authority to change it; though they had come to settle the preliminaries of a meeting there. They urged that as we had made no objections to the place of meeting last season on a barren, uninhabited beach at Kuri-hama, and had delivered the President's letter there, and that as Uraga was a large town set apart for the proposed interview, where officials resided, and where it would be more convenient for them to prepare for it, all propriety was in their favor and we ought to accede to them and at least move one ship down off Uraga. We proposed some place between the ships and Yedo, to which they declined, alleging that there was none suitable, and said we would state all they had said to the Commodore, which Captain Adams did by note. This gave a chance for a respite, and they all got up to see the engine and other parts of the ship, in which some took an interest in one thing, some in another. Our first visitor of last year, Saboroske, was here to-day, and took a minute admeasurement and plan of the big gun on the quarter-deck; he seemed to be a secretary and had a convenient set of writing tools with him which he used in his hand. Others also had these portable writing tools. A few of the visitors came into the wardroom where cake and wine were given them; most of the first they wrapped in nose-papers to carry home. A comparison of swords with ours was then made, and they seemed pleased that theirs were the sharpest. Many objects of wonder to them were exhibited, but they repressed all exclamations of surprise and talked little among themselves.

After a while we were all again seated, and as Perry had refused to stir lower down Captain Adams got them to take the

proposal ashore that an officer should be appointed with whom he would go ashore and select a suitable place, and they might return with the answer in two or three days. We suggested Kanagawa far up the bay, but that was negatived, and every period brought us around again to Uraga as the appointed and best place. If we had had one of Joshua's 24-hour sunshine days they would doubtless have tarried longer, and seemed at last dissatisfied with our refusal to go down the bay and take up with their place of meeting. They talked a good deal among themselves, but never confusedly, waiting each on the other, the two principal ones doing most of the confabulation.

Among other things they said they hoped no surveying parties would go out while negotiations were going on, but this desire could only be referred to the Commodore. We had a good deal of sport in exchanging cards and autographs, for which they seem to have always a strong desire, according to all travelers ; their cards are always in running Chinese characters, if these are to be taken as samples, from two to three inches long and one to one and a half inches wide. A variety of articles were placed in their capacious bosoms, into which they found their way by putting their hand back in their sleeves. Some of the party had eight or nine garments on, one over the other, and all were clad warmly and all bareheaded. In the course of conversation the intepreter said that they understood that I was not coming back this year, but I have no idea how such an impression was received by them. On the whole the interview passed off pleasantly, and our visitors were apparently gratified at what they saw.

Wednesday, February 15th.—Bay of Yedo.

Preparations are making on board for receiving the Commodore on board this ship, but he is just now too unwell to move about much ; it is rather inconvenient for him to be in another ship while negotiations proceed in this one. The weather is pleasant now, cold enough to make it agreeable walking on deck for a long time and yet not too cold for writing or reading.

The younger interpreter came to-day about two o'clock with a party of friends, most of whom had not been aboard before, and whose object was chiefly to see the ship. Among them was a third interpreter from Nagasaki who spoke considerable English with a good accent, though he did not talk much until we began to go over the ship, when his curiosity was so excited that he had questions to ask as well as much to see. The official part of the visit today was to inform Captain Adams that in case he wished anything, as wood or water, or to call for other officers, if he would send a boat inshore, persons would meet him and convey the message. No answer was returned about meeting a deputy to consult with him relating to the place of interview, and the visit was rather uninteresting. The forward deck was well crowded while the Japanese were looking at the guns, and another comparison of swords was gone through with; they hold ours in small esteem from their being so dull, regarding the metal as inferior.

Towards evening we remarked a large number of boats anchored inshore, at intervals, and a few outside, the whole looking like an attempt at placing guard-boats around us. If they persist in this there will be cause of trouble found erelong, I fear, for not to do something will render the boats ridiculous in their own eyes. The number of boats seen in the bay during the day fully equals the number seen last summer, but we are now out of the way of the ferry which plies across from Uraga, and only a few come around to see the ship. The gulls hover around the fleet in numbers, attracted by the offal. On shore we can see the people cutting grass and fagots of bushwood among the pines, bringing them off in all probability for firewood. No snow lies on the shores anywhere in sight, but the mountains in the distance northwest are snow-capped and almost rival Mount Fusi in elevation.

Thursday, February 16th.—Bay of Yedo.

About two o'clock Tatsnoske and a party of gentlemen came on board, none of whom were before in the ship, to my

knowledge. The leading officer was a pleasant but forward man and had almost nothing to communicate, the principal object of their visit being to see the ship. They told us that the high officer had not yet come from Yedo, but desired us in strong terms to move back to Uraga where communication could more easily be carried on. They said they were sent to beg the commander to take care of his health and to inquire after it. In due time the chief man brought out from his bosom a parcel of navy buttons which had been given yesterday to the boatmen alongside, and had been taken from them and now returned in this ridiculous manner. I asked them if they deemed us to be children that they trifled so with us, and told them such was not the conduct of men and friends towards each other. They told me to-day that the siogoun had died in the tenth month of last year, but that the nengo of Kayei was still continued and this was its seventh year, although a new incumbent had the seat. Such a mode of reckoning must throw history and chronology into some confusion; and it shows too the duplicity of the people, for no other adequate cause for such a step can be assigned than to deceive by confirming the impression that the same monarch still reigns. A day or two ago one of our visitors told me that the Mikado had resigned, but I did not ask him then whether the siogoun was dead, supposing from the nengo being the same that he had not died, as we heard reported. One of our visitors to-day was 71 years old, and I observed that the Japanese have the same habit of showing their fingers to indicate small numbers which the Chinese have. Most of the time till after four o'clock was taken up in walking about the ship, in visiting the wardroom where Dr. Maxwell tried unsuccessfully to electrize them, while others showed them pictures, swords, pistols and other things to entertain them, and in examining the machinery. Their numerous inquiries to see the engine indicate the interest it has excited, and I told them that when we reached Yedo the Emperor and his councillors must come off to see it also; the look of doubt and surprise was

all of their answer which came outside. The manners of the chief man, whose name I've forgotten, were so pert, and he was so disobliging and acted so silly in relation to the buttons that the officers in the ship are not inclined to show them any more civilities when they come aboard until they exhibit some desire or intention to reciprocate. This was particularly offensive in this man when he refused to show a pretty bag hanging at his girdle containing some kind of medicine.

There was a grand review and inspection of boats to-day which afforded all some entertainment; perhaps 450 men were prepared for action, and the whole fleet made a pretty show.

A surveying party went out to-day, a few of whom stepped on shore and others had intercourse with native boats. The conduct of the Japanese will be tested as this survey of the harbor proceeds.

Friday, February 17th.—To-day was a rainy, chilly day and no visitors came off, nor were many boats seen in the bay. Whales frequently appear in these waters, probably cows which come in here to calve; some of them have been seen forty feet long. Gulls of several colors constantly play around the ship attracted by offal. On shore the young wheat, or some other green grain, begins to revive the summer garb.

Saturday, February 18th—Bay of Yedo.

A small party, of whom Saboroske was the chief man, came on board about one o'clock to-day, bringing among other news the information that one of the chief councillors and his coadjutors had arrived at Uraga, and wished the Commodore to go there and receive him and the reply to the President's letter. The same reasons were adduced and the same objections brought against this step as had been repeatedly gone over with; on this occasion it ended by giving them in writing the refusal of the Commodore to go down there, but he would send a ship and bring the commissioner up to this anchorage. The name given to the commissioner to-day differs from that handed in on Wednesday,

which was Lin, 林; now it is Hirayama Kenzirō, 平山謙二郎, and his title is less exalted, being styled Revisor of Documents and General Counselor and Director of Affairs of the Frontier of Japan, 日本國鑒察參謀兼掌邊陲事. His two colleagues have no titles, at least none given to us; their names are Yamamoto Bonnoske, 山本文之助, and Mayeda Yōtarō, 前田右太郎. One might infer from the title of the Commissioner that it was given him for this occasion.

Saboroske brought a box of confectionery to-day, which consisted of a few varieties of candied jams of fruits. His activity of mind is remarkable, and he improves on acquaintance; to-day he took the measurements of the ship with a fish-line, and has previously taken dimensions of the guns on the deck and their appurtenances. He seems to be a secretary of Yezaimon, but does little else at our interviews than take notes. When the party left to-day after taking the written paper, Tatsnoske was told that the morrow was our Sabbath when we did no business. From their conduct to-day there is doubtless a decided determination to get us back to Uraga, and we shall perhaps have to give in and go down there.

The Commodore moved aboard the "Powhatan" to-day, but was too ill to do anything, and suffers a great deal of pain, the result of his cold caught on the passage up the bay. The "Southampton" went up the bay some five or six miles yesterday evening to assist the surveying parties.

Sunday, February 19th.—Bay of Yedo.

I attended service in the "Mississippi" this morning and heard Old Hundred sung by nearly all the ship's company. Notwithstanding our desire for quiet Kahiyōye came again about two o'clock with a party, bringing a present of radishes, greens, eggs, chickens, oranges, confectionery and onions, altogether amounting to 3000 articles and over. They were given some tea and biscuit in return, which they accepted willingly. After a good deal of circumlocution, drinking, walking about, counting the articles brought, looking at pistols and pictures, and doing other

unimportant things, the rest of the party left the room without apparent cause, Tatsnoske alone remaining, who drew his chair up and told us confidentially that it was the express command of the siogoun to the commissioner, that the interview should be at Uraga, and all those interested in the matter on their part hoped no impracticable obstacles would be interposed to this plan on our part; for, as the Emperor at Yedo was willing to grant all we asked and permit a trade, this opposition would only impede what otherwise was likely to go on amicably. They understood our reasons for not wishing to move such ships into dangerous places, and would state them to him, and also our proposition that he himself should apply for further instructions to Yedo, if it were possible to have the place of meeting elsewhere. This colloquy was ended by our request that what he had told us might be given in writing to-morrow or next day, addressing Perry directly so that he might have a reliable document. They soon after all departed, leaving us under the impression that we shall obtain a great part of what we ask for, and this large cumshaw of provisions increases this view.

During the afternoon one of the Japanese complained of colic, and Saboroske took out a small box of tutenag having three compartments in which were gilt pills, salts and other medicines, the neatest homeopathic arrangement you ever saw. Taking another pill he mixed it in water and gave it to the patient who soon felt relieved; it was perhaps a preparation of opium. The skill of the man in preparing the dose showed that he was no novice at it.

Monday, February 20th.—Bay of Yedo.

The surveying boats have had considerable friendly intercourse with the people along the beach and in boats, to-day and on Saturday, and erelong there seems likely to spring up a pleasant understanding. The people are evidently willing to cultivate kind feelings with their visitors.

Kaheyōye and his friends came again to-day, bringing a

letter from Commissioner Lin and a number of his colleagues, in which they desired the Commodore to go to Uraga ; in reply he proposed to send Captain Adams down in one of the ships and bring them up if they wished to come. He stated his intention, also, in his reply, to take the ships up the bay to safer moorings, and added that as he was sent to Yedo by his government, to Yedo he expected to go, where also he could show the presents sent out and exhibit their mode of manipulation. They agreed to Captain Adams' going down. Kaheyōye also brought a cut shell as a private present for Perry who returned a lithograph of a steamer that seemed to please the official much. A hundred oysters in shells were also brought for Captain Adams. The day passed off pleasantly and they seemed gratified at the prospect of an amicable settlement and the opening of intercourse. Truly, we may say that God has gone before and prepared our way among this people, and I hope it is to be for their lasting benefit too. If a place of meeting is appointed further up the bay we may hope to reach Yedo, the goal of our expectations.

Tuesday, February 21st.—Bay of Yedo.

A deputation of some low-ranked officials came off about a quarter of eight, A.M., to see if Captain Adams was going to Uraga, and to accompany him there, but I did not learn whether they intended to take him with them. They wished me again and again to go with them, taking me by the sleeve, and wishing to ascertain the reason for not making one of the party. The "Vandalia" got down near Saru-sima where she anchored in the afternoon, a violent storm of rain preventing further progress ; so that the commissioners are likely to be kept waiting longer than they perhaps wish. The desire of these officials to get an interview at Uraga indicates the mind of the court, I think, not to do much to assist us to reach Yedo, knowing perhaps that they cannot make us as "respectfully submissive" as their Dutch visitors, and fear they will thereby lose caste among the people.

The people seem to have no such apprehensions, and an intercourse has commenced among them from the boats sent to survey which is plainly a voluntary exhibition of their goodwill and laudable curiosity towards "far-traveled strangers." The camellias, forty feet high, chestnut trees, a species of Laurus, pines, cedars and other plants new to us, all possess unusual interest on entering a land so long shut out. In fact the gradual entrance into so peculiar a land in the way we have come, one thing opening after another, is not the least of the charms of the Expedition.

Wednesday, February 22nd.—Bay of Yedo.

I thought that we should be unvisited to-day, but a large company of gentlemen came on board about half past nine o'clock, a part only of whom had been here before, to hear the salute fired by the ships on Washington's birthday. They rambled about as they pleased, and all seemed disposed to be entertained. One who had often been on board showed me a book of twenty leaves giving an account of cannons, guns, revolvers, swords and other arms, illustrated with neat and accurate drawings of each, diagrams of their various portions, so that a clear idea could be obtained of each implement. It was printed at Yedo last October, and I imagine that much of the information in it is a digest of what was seen aboard the "Susquehanna" last summer, though the author must have had some European work on gunnery to copy his drawings from. It was neatly printed, and the owner declined to let me have it on any account. He was carefully examining the guns while going through the ship. I endeavored to make the principle of the telegraph, which was set up to-day and in good operation, intelligible to one or two of our visitors, and made them comprehend that ideas could be conveyed along the wires by means of the machinery now exhibited, but how it was done was the mystery which their partial knowledge and my inaptitude on such a topic could not reach. However, what was understood is likely to arouse attention.

The party which went ashore found kind treatment, and

people of all sorts were curious to see the strangers. They went into a large village where the women were not behind the men in curiosity. Some laborers in a quarry were tattooed or marked on the right shoulder, which they pointed out as if it was a distinctive mark. The island we call Webster's Island, or Natsusima, is uninhabited, but affords a pretty ramble. The village of Kanezao lies inland west of it, and perhaps is the one visited to-day. The general condition of these villagers is not so comfortable, our officers think, as of those Chinese who live about Canton. Houses are neatly thatched, mostly of wood or mud.

Friday, February 24th.—Bay of Yedo.

Yesterday the wind blew so hard that there was no such thing as going ashore, nor did any natives come to the ship. I was busy all day in putting the press up and looking up the various articles belonging to the printing department which, however, are so few as to be of little use, especially the assortment of type.

This morning the steamers all weighed anchor to go up the bay, leaving the "Macedonian" to wait for the "Saratoga." The day was beautiful, and we passed up within a seeing distance of the shore, sounding all the time and feeling our way till we reached the point attained by the "Mississippi" last summer and anchored. The people along shore were much excited by the spectacle, and as soon as we stopped, boats containing parties of men and women came to look at the strange wheeled craft, many of them near enough to get biscuit and other things thrown to them. While two or three were thus pleasing themselves and us, a government boat came shoving into their midst, driving them off with cries, they themselves hastening off in all directions. One or two were overhauled and one man soundly thrashed with a stick as a memorial to the others. The Commodore was about sending an officer with orders, to be conveyed by Sam Patch, that if these government boats drove the people off he would drive them off. However, all sorts of boats were soon out of our reach, but the incident is not of promising augury in respect

to the feelings of the government at our coming up the bay, while it evinces the eagerness of the people. By the evening sun Yedo was plainly seen over the point in a northerly direction, the city reaching along a hillside and apparently of great area. Some of the surveying boats went near enough to see the sea wall of the city and its embrasures. This evening many fires are seen here and there and hundreds of curtains were stretched along the shore, all of which could not be for defenses or troops.

Saturday, February 25th.—Off Kanagawa.

Captain Adams came back this morning about nine o'clock from his visit to Uraga, leaving the "Vandalia" some way down the bay. He brought a reply in Dutch and Chinese from the imperial commissioner, signed in the former Hayasi Dai haku kami (or Hayasi, the great counsellor prince, or something like this), but in Chinese, as Lin, member of the imperial council, alone, with no other persons joined with him. At the interview Captain Adams asked for the cards of the officers he was talking with, but neither of the three were written like the title of the one who applied to the Commodore. This letter acknowledged the propriety of the reference to European and American customs in embassadors from foreign countries repairing to the capitals of the country they visited, and there delivering their errands at court, but plead its inapplicability to Japan, as the Emperor had decided otherwise, that his commissioner must repair to Uraga where preparations had been made for the interview, and concluding by urgently requesting the Commodore to return to that place for this purpose. No alternative was, however, proposed in the paper in case we held out, such as refusing to see Perry elsewhere, or anything of a decisive nature. A longer letter from our old friend Yezaimon was also brought to Captain Adams in which the same things were adduced, no alternative being possible; this last letter was written in a friendly spirit and indicated, at least, that the Japanese were not prepared yet to break off negotiations in case we refused to go back to Uraga.

Captain Adams said that the place arranged was at the edge of the town, in a narrow place between two hills of no great elevation, one of which had been scarped at considerable outlay of labor to accommodate the buildings erected for the interview, these last being a few rods only from the shore. The buildings were larger than those at Kurihama and the tables and covered trays seen in some of the rooms showed that there were to be preparations made for an entertainment on a large scale. The meeting with Captain Adams was not long and, after delivering the Commodore's letter, turned on the propriety of the squadron returning to Uraga and the peremptoriness of the siogoun's commands on that point. In reply the same old reasons were alleged why the ships could not lie there, instancing the bad weather then extant before them all as an argument patent to all. Tea, sweetmeats and saki were handed around to all, the waiters kneeling when presenting the cups. Those who spoke to the prince, or chief officer, humbled themselves like slaves, and they were the highest officers who had been on board our ships where, however, no one kneeled to them. Such abjectness must humiliate the person who does it in his own eyes, or, if it does not, it only shows how deeply it has already abased him. The interview being over, all returned to the ship, though they thought it not unlikely they would have to stay ashore all night. Yezaimon sent Captain Adams a small present, parts of it proving the low opinion he entertained for us, or else showing how debased he was himself.

On hearing all these points and reading these communications, the question of returning to Uraga was discussed, the Commodore still holding to his views not to return down the bay at any rate. There was a great probability that the Japanese would hold off, but it was quite as important for them to obey the Emperor in holding the meeting, as it was to have it at Uraga. Of course, no one would blame him at Washington or elsewhere for finally going back there rather than lose the treaty, and every country had the right to choose what way it would

receive foreign officials ; but there was yet no risk of losing what Hayashi had said the Emperor had decided to grant, and no precedent could be drawn from European courtesy and reciprocal interchange of diplomats to illustrate one's conduct with a people which ignored all such relations. I approved the decision not to return, though I would rather have gone there than risk losing all. Yet I do not at all like the way in which this nation is spoken of by the Commodore and most of the officers, calling them savages, liars, a pack of fools, poor devils ; cursing them and then denying practically all of it by supposing them worth making a treaty with. Truly, what sort of instruments does God work with !

Much to our surprise, Yezaimon and two interpreters, one of whom, Namura Gohadjiro, has lately come into action and enunciates better than either of the others, came on board. They were received in the rear room on account of Captain McClung's illness, where tea and toddy and cakes were served as usual. He said he had come to get the answer to the letter brought up by Captain Adams, and it was promised to be ready by Monday noon. Intimations were given that if they would bring us wood and water we would pay for it, to which they answered that they could be furnished by bringing them up from Uraga, and hoped our boats would not go ashore to get them. We rejoined that we were not in need of such supplies and, as we knew wood and water could both be procured ashore near us, it was needless for them to bring such things from Uraga, and we would not go there to get them. They must themselves have seen two days ago how rough it was at Uraga and how impossible it would have been to receive supplies from off shore. All this talking occupied some time, during which several things were exhibited and an india-rubber globe which Perry made Yezaimon a present of examined ; he was quite as polite and chatty as usual and we were glad to see him, and he apparently to see us.

Again the question of going down to Uraga was brought forward, and declined. " Well, then, can you go ashore near



View of Yokohama Harbour when Commodore Perry was first sighted.
(From a Japanese print of the time.)

here this afternoon and pick out a suitable place?" said he to Captain Adams. Thus the whole point was given in, and this was doubtless decided on by the commissioner at Uraga as soon as he heard the ships had gone up the bay. The manner in which it was done showed that Yezaimon was sent up to settle a place for the interview before we got any nearer Yedo, but it came in during the conversation, as a man gives up a desperate case, by a complete turn-round. A place was pointed out in shore where he supposed a good spot could be found, and it was decided to go immediately, it being now a quarter of three o'clock. Captain Buchanan went with Captain Adams in another boat, preceded by Yezaimon, and taking a southwest direction, we landed about five miles from the ships, sounding to ascertain the deepest water, at a hamlet below Kanagawa called Yokohama. The Commodore demands a locality which can be covered by the shipping. A vacant spot of ground was selected near the hamlet, now covered with a promising wheatfield, as suitable for the interview; it was coolly proposed before reaching this spot to demolish three or four houses in the village to make room for the new buildings necessary, Yezaimon seeming to think the property of the villagers of not the slightest consideration. He was always spoken to by them on their knees, none of them wearing swords and showing plainly their low condition by their dress and miserable habitations. The fields were highly cultivated, but the dwellings indicated little thrift, and the village was rendered unsavory by the numerous vats, thatched over to retain urine, compost and other manuring substances from evaporating, which lined the waysides. Many of the dwellings were built of dried mud and straw supported by cross joists and beams, a few of boards more neat looking than these, if not warmer, and the majority of posts and sliding doors. No regularity was observable in the streets or size of the lots which, consequently, gave the village the appearance of an incongruous collection of huts and sites, and not nearly so regular and pleasing as the villages around Napa. A few houses were

tiled, the ridges being smaller than in China and imparting a neater look to the roof which, as well as the walls, were white-washed white and slate in a pretty manner. The walls of these houses were fully two and a half feet longer at the base than at the eaves. We saw a machine made of two rollers inserted in a frame, having each a short screw at their ends working close in each other's thread, intended to clean cotton of its seeds, some of which were lying by it. The cotton had a very short staple. Many rude presses were seen to press oil from seeds and others from fishes, now not in use. One loom for weaving mats, a mere frame to stretch the warp on, was observed; but most of the houses were shut up. Hedges of living plants, or more commonly of dried bamboo branches or other trees, surrounded all the yards and gave a slovenly appearance to the farmstead, from the leaves and broken twigs lying on the ground, added to which the farm gear was left scattered in the yard. No windows nor chimneys were seen to admit light into the rooms, or for smoke to go out. The roofs were nearly the thickness of a foot, made of a sort of reed cultivated for the purpose; a fire breaking out in such houses would almost certainly involve all its neighbors in its flames. The camellia trees were in full flower and appeared beautiful when disposed in hedges; many trees were just bursting into leaf.

In one part of the village a large collection of a hundred gravestones led us to ask where the people were buried, and we were told that the bodies were placed outside of the village and their epitaphs here. Many of the inscriptions were in Chinese, and on one recent one I observed many characters resembling Tibetan, though I can hardly think they were so, but rather charms. Near one of the best dwellings was a domestic shrine made with a double door inclosing the adytum in a box some four feet high. No paint was seen on any building.

The men looked healthy and well fed, but the few women who let us look at them appeared oddly with their shaven eyebrows, and not very tidy. However, the cold weather would

induce all to put on whatever clothes their poverty would allow. No animals but cats and dogs were noticed in the hamlet.

Sunday, February 26th.—Rev. Mr. Jones held service on board ship to-day, but did not preach. The crew generally attended, but the marines were paraded on the quarter-deck out of hearing. For the first time on a pleasant day no Japanese came on board. The aspect of our affairs is now promising, and I cannot but hope that God will hear the prayers offered by his people, answered by the success of our Expedition. The peaceful opening of this country will be to this debased, inquiring people a great boon.

Monday, February 27th.—Yezaimon and his friends came aboard and, after considerable explanation and illustration, obtained an imperfect idea of the telegraph which was put in operation for their enlightenment. So mysterious a principle as the galvanic current requires more previous knowledge of electrical and magnetic powers than these people possess to fully understand this mode of application, even if we were enough acquainted with their language to convey a fair description of the machine to them. However, the result was understood, I think. Yezaimon brought a bushel of wheat done up in a straw bag as a present for Buchanan who had asked him for a specimen on Saturday evening. After a while he and his friends went on board the "Susquehanna" to see her captain and the working of the machinery while going in to the anchorage of Yokohama, and every part of the engine was shown which could be, much to their entertainment. The cabin furnished a new sight to Yezaimon, as he had no chance to see it last year. The usual variety of spirits was served out, cards exchanged and good wishes given and received. Two of the officers were from Yedo, and when I told them we must go with these steamers up to that city they said it could not be, that there was not water enough and the Government would not allow it. "How can we, who have come so far," asked I in return, "stop short of seeing his majesty?" It is doubtless disappointing to the court that we have reached

this point, and would have been still more so had Perry only gone higher up, as near as he could get. Some of the presents of shellwork from Ye-sima, not far from Kamakura, an island in the Bay of Simoda, belonging to Idzu, given by Yezaimon to Captain Adams were shown, much to our interest; it is said to be manufactured there only and was really a pretty piece of art. Some of the glasslike, wiry byssus of the pinna were also seen, forming part of this present.

I went off to the "Susquehanna" at Yezaimon's request in his boat. The necessity of removing the official boats from guarding the ships against the people generally visiting them was strongly urged on him. It would be unpleasant to have a collision now as we are forming a treaty, or trying to do so.

Wednesday, March 1st.—Off Kanagawa.

Yesterday no one came on board in the drizzling rain, which I fear will now continue for many days, as the new moon has come in with a rainy mist. I was engaged all day on the revision of the treaty. This evening Captain Buchanan gave a dinner to Yezaimon and his friends which passed off very well, ten of his countrymen sitting down to table with six Americans for the first time in the experience of each party. The dinner was well served and the Japanese seemed to enjoy themselves like *bon vivants*, drinking healths and joining in the toasts as if they were used to it. Yezaimon proposed the health of the President in return for that of the Emperor, and the health of the Commodore, captains and officers of the fleet in return for his own, in all respects acting with perfect propriety. This officer certainly exhibits a breeding and tact in all the novel positions in which he is placed that reflects great credit on him and shows the culture of the social parts of the Japanese character. All of the guests except Saboroske behaved well, but his restless curiosity and impudence led him up and down the room at a great gait—putting on Captain Buchanan's cap and looking at himself in the glass, hopping behind Yezaimon to take notes, bawling across the table, asking the English name for this thing

and that, and making himself conspicuous as a braggart can. Yet his cleverness shines through all his quirks, even if he did pour out a glass of sweet oil to drink it for wine. All the guests took parts of the dinner home in their nose papers, wrapping turkey, pie, asparagus, ginger sweetmeats and other things one after the other; Namura added two spoonfuls of syrup to his ginger and thrust the parcel in his bosom. Altogether it was a good move, I think, and after dinner they soon returned home at sunset, inviting me to go and spend the night ashore, which, however, I thought best to decline on account of the work just now on hand. Before parting one of them sung a song to which another added the refrain or chorus, but such music! The Japanese can be no better than the Chinese if such singing pleases their ears.

Thursday, March 2nd.—Off Kanagawa.

No officials came near the ship to-day, and the guard boats which have rowed round the ships to prevent natives coming near us have disappeared, though doubtless the restrictions are as close as ever, given from on shore, as no boats come near us. The draft of the treaty we propose for them to accept is nearly ready, and also Perry's letter to accompany it, a specimen of diplomatic special pleading and foreshortening quite refreshing to a beginner, though what is said is well enough, the points which are untouched being the completion of the whole subject. In the evening I accompanied Captain Adams on shore to see about the progress of the houses, arrange how to land the escort and get a walk if we could. There are five buildings, the materials being the same as those employed at Uraga which have been transported hither. They are to be shingled, and the floor matted; and several rooms like cloisters intimated their supposition that it would be necessary to remain in the buildings some days. They are cheap affairs and ought to revert to the unlucky owner of the despoiled wheatfield as a compensation for his crop. A flag was fluttering in front inscribed *Goyio*, 御用, to intimate that government had applied its power, and on the

limits was another marker called *Go-yio chio*, 御用塲, or Arena used for the Emperor. Many villagers came down to see us, but a high officer from Yedo happening to arrive while we were there, the crowd drew off to see him. This magnate was followed on foot by a sword-bearer and shield-bearer, but we happened to be too far off to see him plainly. No such thing as a ramble was possible while so many officials were near, and we soon left.

Friday, March 3rd.—Yezaimon ate and drank so much at Buchanan's dinner he was unable to come off to the ship as requested last night. A new and superior interpreter came with Saboroske, named Moriyama Yenoske, who had recently returned from Nagasaki, whence he arrived in twenty-five days and hurried on at that. He speaks English well enough to render any other interpreter unnecessary, and thus will assist our intercourse greatly. He inquired for the captain and officers of the "Preble," and asked if Ronald McDonald was well, or if we knew him. He examined the machinery and at last sat down at dinner in the ward room, giving us all a good impression of his education and breeding. Saboroske brought a native map of the bay and region contiguous which was copied while he was on board. His principal business was to let us know the "Saratoga" was off the coast, to bring back a hammer found floating and to arrange respecting watering the ships. He says the houses on shore will not be ready for three days yet, so that we shall all have time enough to get ready. I suspect the nearness to Yedo will bring many spectators from thence.

Saturday, March 4th.—Off Kanagawa.

A party came to-day for the purpose of bringing an answer from the "Saratoga," which vessel anchored this evening. They remained on board almost two hours, drinking and eating, giving me at the same time some practice in talking with them, though I got no information from them of any importance. Their chief design was to get something to eat and a glass of toddy, if one might judge of their liking for the refreshments. One of them

took drawings of all the parts of a revolver, chiefly by rubbing india ink on a piece of thin paper laid over the things he wished to sketch.

This party afterward repaired on board the "Mississippi" and there got some more drink. Mr. Spalding was showing one of them a prayer book, and, as he turned over the pages, he came to a plate containing a cross drawn prominently, whereupon he dropped the book as if it had been a hot coal. Pity 'tis that this symbol is associated in their minds with all that is treacherous, dreadful and forbidden.

Sunday, March 5th.—Off Kanagawa.

Notwithstanding our request, Yezaimon, Moriyama Yenoske, and others came to-day. It is of little importance to them that it is our Sunday, for we still receive them; they ought to be refused if the fourth commandment was held in Jewish respect, but what would then be said? Yezaimon had recovered from his dinner the other evening and appeared in usual health. He said he would come to-morrow and, after examining the telegraph, would return on shore with Captain Adams to examine the house at Yokohama. He asked the number of Perry's escort which was placed at thirty officers and a guard similar to last year's, but was told that no refreshment need be provided for the guard. The flags we wished to make for doing honor to the siogoun and Commissioner Hayashi were minutely explained to him, and he promised to furnish the diagrams for both, and also a list of the officials and high personages to whom presents ought to be given by us, illustrating both these requests from us by telling him that if he was in America he would wish to learn such things to avoid blunders. The credentials of Hayashi were also demanded to be brought off for inspection by the Commodore, his own being already in their hands, just as those of the Prince of Idzu were shown last year. A mark of confidence in us would be given this year, for they know us better now, in that no Japanese troops would be marshaled, and we again assured him that the guard was merely to do honor to the occasion.

A request was made that if any vessels appeared on the coast, as Perry expected some, pilots might be sent off and he informed of their arrival. Yezaimon wished to know how much coal we should annually want, where we wished a port and what sort of provisions. It was replied that no one could tell how much coal would be needed, but a port on the southern coast, accessible by ships passing on to China or California, where such provisions as they had could be also obtained, would be wanted. He said the most and best coal came from Kiusiu, little from Nippon, and none from Sikokf. The Russians were supplied with some which was pronounced pretty good. Many of these items and requests, especially that relating to the ports needed, were deferred to the Commodore's decision; they were only fishing for answers on the principal points, I think, so that they might frame their replies.

Monday, March 6th.—Yezaimon and his company brought off the copy of the commissioner's credentials and his emblazonry, as he promised yesterday; the latter was given on one of his excellency's crape overcoats, brought for accuracy. The list of persons to whom presents are due officially consisted of him and his three associates preceded by the six councillors; but what a cloud of obscurity rests over the distribution of these things to them, from our utter ignorance of the persons here named! The day of meeting was fixed for the 8th, and, after minutely examining the telegraph and the ship, Yezaimon left in Captain Adam's boat for shore to examine the house and its capabilities. While on board Sam Patch* was brought before him and questioned a little as to his antecedents, but the poor boy was in such a paroxysm of trepidation that he hardly knew what he did or ought to do. Prostrate on the deck, he murmured some incoherent words, and could not be induced to stand up, so terrified did he become under the stern eye of Yezaimon who hardly deigned to look at him. I suspect the Japanese stand in more awe, and are more abjectly submis-

* One of the shipwrecked Japanese sailors in the "*Morrison*" party.

sive, than even the Chinese when before their rulers and magnates. The company to-day was a peculiarly sociable one, and I was talking with them all the time, acquiring words and practice.

In the evening I made a visit to the "Saratoga" where I found the officers much less ill than I was afraid, from what I had heard of their cases. Mr. Wayne is the most of an invalid, and longs to get home; this homesickness is the attendant of men-of-war much more than I ever supposed, a natural result of the monotonous life led and the constant dwelling on the scenes of home.

Tuesday, March 7th.—The principal business of to-day has been the arrangement of the presents in due divisions according to the list of officers given to us, separating for the siogoun all those articles intended for him by the government, with others of less value, and distributing to the Empress, the six councillors and the four commissioners such things as the squadron can furnish.

Yezaimon came about two o'clock to ascertain more particulars respecting the escort and time of starting, and, what concerned himself quite as much, to get some of our cake and wine, in which these islanders show an entire belief. From this he and Moriyama went to pay Captain Buchanan a visit.

Wednesday, March 8th.—The Commodore's usual good fortune attended him to-day in a fine, clear day, not overmuch cold either. In the morning we observed a long line of curtains on the beach, and a row of posts each side of the house on shore extending down to the water, with curtains stretched along, and inclosing the space in front so as to exclude all the view. This rather annoyed the Commodore, since it looked like fencing us in, as had been done at Uraga with boards, which we desired not to be erected; and he sent Captain Adams and me to have them taken down. In fact, these curtains are designed entirely for show, and to do honor to an occasion; but Perry wants honor to be given in his own style or not at all. A fair breeze soon took us ashore, and half a dozen officials came

down to the pier which the workmen were laying of sand bound up in straw bags to see what we wanted. A few remarks from them showed that they feared the Commodore was sick, or something else had happened to prevent the meeting. I told them that he expected to be ashore at noon, and we had come to see the place beforehand, the jetty for landing, etc., and suggested that as there would be over thirty boats the curtains on each side had better be removed to allow more room along the beach for them to arrange. Instantly, the whole curtain was folded up, the stakes and ropes removed, and a clear beach for landing presented. So the Commodore had his way in this, and I think it was a good move, for thus no obstacle was placed in the way of a view or a ramble; but I put it all on the ground of a small space for boats, and this satisfied them. The rapidity with which the "fortifications" disappeared greatly amused the people on board ship.

Yezaimon and his party came on board about ten o'clock to conduct the party on shore, and amused themselves with the sailors and looking at the gay dresses of the marines. As usual, Saboroske was flying about, crying out at the top of his voice from whatever place he happened to be in. The various ships sent their boats first to the flagship, and by half past eleven all of the guard and officers were ashore, the Commodore leaving at noon under a salute from the "Macedonian." On reaching the shore, the band struck up, and, passing through the lines of the guard attended by Kaheyōye, the whole party went up to the reception hall where Perry met the five commissioners standing in a row in front of a screen of blue silk; we bowed to them, and the whole then filed around and sat on a bench covered with red cloth, while we were also accommodated on a similar bench opposite, the whole company disposing themselves along two rows with a low bench before them to serve for a table. Yenoske then separately introduced each commissioner, and a few others, to the Commodore, after which the former retired, each followed by his sword bearer; a plate

of candy was set before each with tea and fire for smoking. The centre was occupied by a few brasiers on stands, but there was no need of them and little heat in them. Soon after the confectionery and tea had been served to all, the commissioners returned, and invited Perry and his suite to enter a side room where Commissioner Lin had us all seated and, after a few compliments, brought out the Emperor's answer to Fillmore's letter, written on a few pages of coarse paper. It acceded to the demands for good usage of shipwrecked sailors, and supplies of provisions for ships needing them, and offered a port for trade, to be chosen by us, and a supply of coal to be there delivered as soon as we needed it. Five years were needed to complete their arrangements for trade at this port, but traffic in articles could be commenced soon.

A Dutch translation was handed in, but the original was not given at this time, as they had no signed copy with them. Our draft of a treaty and explanatory letter were handed to them, and the desirableness of their forming a treaty with us, which would fix our international relations with them on a clear basis, fully dilated on. Notes of several things to be considered were then handed to them, and they are to reply in writing. Moriyama was on the floor, shuffling from one side to the other, while these men regarded him with undisturbed countenances and spoke to him in a very low voice. Yezaimon, Kaheyōye and Tatsnoske were in the room, the latter crouching on hands and knees. What respect can a man have for himself in such a position?

The chief commissioner was an unintellectual looking man, dressed plainly in dark silk. The second is a gross, sleepy looking man, as much unlike a prince as if he was a chimney-sweeper, his next in rank taking the shine off all of them by his green trowsers and their gilt emblazonry, he having his coat-of-arms worked on each calf so as to be conspicuous. It was this man who met the party at Uraga, appearing there even brighter than on this occasion. The fourth and fifth commissioners said

almost nothing, and did not present anything attractive; all of them doubtless looked at us as carefully as we at them, regarding us with more interest, doubtless, as they had more at stake.

We were entertained by the two princes while the others went out to look at the papers. Two trays of fish differently dressed, surrounded with boiled seaweed, walnuts, carrots shredded fine, and eggs, were served, with saki, tea, soy and vinegar. As little salt was used as by the Lewchewan cooks, yet the viands were not badly tasted, and I had a fresh supply of the kurumi, or walnut seeds, which tasted very pleasantly. A decanter and glasses were brought in, with Madeira wine, which were obtained doubtless of the Dutch. No great outlay was made for to-day's entertainment, if this was the criterion; but it evidenced good feeling on the part of the Japanese, and was a vast advance on last summer's meeting.

When the other commissioners returned they were all invited to dinner, and accepted the invitation finally, as soon as the intimation was given that the machinery would be set agoing for them. The case of the death on board of the "Mississippi" was then introduced, and a request made that a place be set apart for interment. First, they wished to know whether the deceased was an officer; then they requested that we take the body to Uraga, whence they would take it to the burial ground at Nagasaki. This being denied and Perry proposing Natsusima, they raised scruples respecting the proprietary of the land, and, after a deal of backing and filling agreed to let the body be buried ashore to-morrow, they sending guides to point out the location. All this discussion took up three quarters of an hour, and allowed the officers outside to see a good deal of the neighborhood, some of them walking a mile or more.

Nothing could be obtained from the commissioners respecting leave to go ashore, and the replies to this and other points in the notes were to be given soon. I have given the leading points in this interview, but the slowness of the intercommunication, through Dutch too, prolonged it to weariness.

While we were inside, the crowd of Japanese outside entertained itself with the guard, the officers and the music, and got on very well together. There were about seven hundred foreigners on shore and lying off. After looking at the long shed for the presents, which required a new roof before it would be safe, Perry and his suite went off. When he landed salutes were fired in honor of the Emperor and Commissioner Lin, a mark of respect the latter seemed to understand; these were fired by the boats.

Escorts of Japanese soldiers, crossbow-men, matchlock-men and servants were standing around the building, but the crowd was never in the way, and both parties mingled freely with each other. The meeting passed off pleasantly in every respect, and towards evening a dozen boxes of oranges and casks of spirits were sent off to the flagship for distribution.

Thursday, March 9th.—Moriyama and Kaheyōye, the deputies from the commissioners, came about half past one, P.M., to deliver a certified copy of the answer read to us yesterday, and a Dutch translation. It is a mean looking style to return the answer to the magnificent boxes in which Fillmore's was handed them, though this matters little to the contents. These papers were handed to the Commodore, and a short time allowed for dinner, during which some good daguerreotypes of the visitors were taken, and then we went off to the "Mississippi" to consult on business. The deputies had Hiraiyama Kenzhirō for their advisor and secretary, but yesterday he acted an equal part with Kaheyōye, and must hold high office. The chief matters settled were: the landing of the presents on Monday; the best way of procuring provisions through a purveyor who was to bring them all to one ship, where they would be paid for, weighing coin against coin, equal weight being equal value; and the nature of the presents we wish in exchange for ours. We talked about ports to be opened; the place whence the cannel coal they had brought us was obtained; the desirableness and objections to our going ashore to walk;

and need there was on our part for patience in this negotiation which to them was so novel and heretofore so opposed to their laws. The princes and commissioners are unacquainted with us and our customs, and much of our success depends on the first steps.

While still in session, the funeral boats returned, Yezaimon coming back with them. The grave was dug near the burial ground of Yokohama, and, after Mr. Jones had gone through his services, a Buddhist priest who had joined the procession, all shaven and shorn, and in a yellow surplice of a fine quality, went through his services, having brought his bell and candle, *saki*, incense sticks and all his furniture to join in this Christian burial. His ritual was much the same as in China, and all present, including over two thousand spectators, regarded it all in quiet interest, somewhat doubting, perhaps, what they would see next. Thus did the United States marine, Williams, occupy his narrow bed within fifteen miles of Yedo, where Gongiu-sama declared once that no Christian should ever come; yea, that even the God of the Christians should die, if he came. Thus are old things passing away in Japan. Mr. Jones thinks he has done a great achievement.

Names of the Six Members of the Imperial Council and the Commissioners appointed to meet Commodore Perry at Yokohama.

松崎滿太郎	Matsusaki Michitarō.
鵜殿民部少輔	Udono, Mimbu Shiyoyu, assistant in the Board of Population or Revenues.
伊澤美作守	Izawa, prince of Mimasaki, in Sanyuto, w. of Miaco.
井戸對馬守	Ido, Tsus-sima no kami, prince of islands near Corea.
林　大學頭	Hayashi, dai gaku no kami, one of the high councilors.

內藤紀伊守	Naïito, prince of Ki, in Nankaitu.
久世太和守	Kuzhei, prince of Yamato, near Idzumi.
松平伊賀守	Matsudaïira, Iga's prince; east of Kaga.
松平和泉守	Matsudaïira, prince of Idzumi, opposite Ohosaka city.
牧野備前守	Makino, the prince of Bizen in Sanyuto.
阿部伊勢守	Abe, the prince of Ishi, in the division of Tokaido.

Friday, March 10th.—Off Kanagawa.

The answer to the reply delivered by Hayashi has been translated to-day, and in it, while Perry is pleased that the Japanese government has granted what Fillmore asked for, which was all the Cabinet at Washington expected to obtain, he says that it is by no means all *he* wants, nor all the President intended, and "will not satisfy his views." The letter last year asked for one port; now Perry wants five. That desired the Japanese to give assurances of good treatment; now Perry demands them to make a treaty, and threatens them in no obscure terms with a "larger force and more stringent terms and instructions," if they do not comply. The Japanese may be disposed to comply, but they may not. Yet what an inconsistency is here exhibited, and what conclusion can they draw from it except that we have come on a predatory excursion? I hardly know just the position in which to place such a document as this, but the estimation of its author is not dubious. Perry cares no more for right, for consistency, for his country, than will advance his own aggrandizement and fame, and makes his ambition the test of all his conduct towards the Japanese. Yet if they will, either from fear, from policy, or from inclination to learn and see more of their fellowmen, open their ports and for once do away with the seclusive system, great good to them will result, their people will be benefited, and the stability even of the state increased, perhaps. Yet I despise such papers as this drawn up this day, and it may defeat its own object; it certainly has lowered the opinion I had of its author.

Tatsnoske came to-day to see whether the presents would be ready, and to inquire respecting the supplying of water. If he came for wine and cake he was disappointed. We have given the visitors a large feasting, and it is time they reciprocated it. The arrangements respecting provisions are not very simple, but the supply of such a squadron where the interpreters are few is likely to be tedious, even if this part of the country has enough —a doubtful matter.

Saturday, March 11th.—Captain Adams took the papers ashore to-day and continued there consulting and arranging with Kaheyōye about the provisions and disposal of the presents. These are now all put up ready for transmission on Monday, and form a large collection, though not very valuable. I have had the chief management of their preparation, and the vexatious manner in which Perry can annoy those under him without himself caring for the perplexity he occasions makes me glad that I never was disciplined to the navy, where undistinguishing obedience is required. One gets into such a heartless way of doing everything that the whole soul gets callous; praise is never given when a thing is done well, and scolding plentifully administered annuls all desire to exert one's self to please a superior.

Sunday, March 12th.—The weather during the weeks we have been in this bay has been delightful, on the whole as healthy, I suppose, as any climate in the world. To-day has been cool and clear (thermometer about 42° F.), and as bracing as any temperature I ever felt. My health is good, and I have enough to do; my situation is not disagreeable, and I am mostly my own master—why should not my heart praise God for all his loving kindness, so infinitely beyond my deserts, and all the promises given in his dear Son? Mr. Bittenger prayed and read a chapter to-day, the Commodore having such a tenderness for the crew that he would not keep them on deck in the cold long enough to hear a sermon! He himself attended, but McCluney keeps away. Yet even this slight religious service,

which rightfully ought to be held daily, if a crew was properly taught, is made the subject of ridicule and scorn by officers and men, so perverse are they.

Monday, March 13th.—By eleven o'clock this morning all the presents destined for the Emperor and his councillors and the five commissioners were landed or on the beach ready to take ashore. Unfortunately, the day was rainy, and the marines and officers were unable to do more than salute Captain Abbot as he came ashore, and accompany him into the house, when the former retired to the shed. Most of the presents were landed without injury and placed under cover, the agricultural implements forming the largest bulk. The engine and telegraph require some preparation to show them.

The presents for the Emperor were as follows :—

One 1/4 size miniature steam engine, track, tender and car.

Telegraph, with three miles of wire and gutta percha wire.

One Francis' copper Life Boat.

One surf-boat of copper.

Collection of agricultural implements.

Audubon's Birds, in nine vols.

Natural History of the State of New York, 16 vols.

Annals of Congress, 4 vols.

Laws and Documents of the State of New York.

Journal of the Senate and Assembly of New York.

Lighthouse Reports, 2 vols.

Bancroft's History of the United States, 4 vols.

Farmers' Guide, 2 vols.

One series of United States Coast Survey Charts.

Morris' Engineering.

Silver-topped dressing case.

8 yards scarlet broadcloth, and ps. scarlet velvet.

Series of United States standard yard, gallon, bushel, balances and weights.

Quarter cask of Madeira.
Barrel of whiskey.
Box of champagne and cherry cordial and maraschino.
Three 10 cent boxes of fine tea.
Maps of several states and four large lithographs.
Telescope and stand in box.
Sheet-iron stove.
An assortment of fine perfumery, about 6 dozen.
5 Hall's Rifles, 3 Maynard's Muskets, 12 Cavalry Swords, 6 Artillery Swords, 1 Carbine and 20 Army Pistols in a box.
Catalogue of New York State Library and of Post-offices.
Two mail bags with padlocks.

For the Empress:—

Flowered silk embroidered dress.
Toilet dressing-box gilded.
6 dozen assorted perfumery.

For Commissioner Hayashi:—

Audubon's Quadrupeds.
4 yards scarlet broadcloth—a clock—a stove—a rifle.
Set of Chinaware—teaset; a revolver and box of powder.
2 dozen assorted perfumery—20 gallons of whiskey—a sword.
3 boxes 10c. fine tea—box of champagne—1 box of finer tea.

For Abe, prince of Ishi, first councillor:—

One copper lifeboat.
Kendall's War in Mexico and Ripley's History of that war.
Box of champagne—3 boxes fine tea—20 gallons whiskey.
1 clock—1 stove—1 rifle—1 sword—1 revolver and powder.

2 dozen assorted perfumery.
4 yards scarlet broadcloth.

For Makino, prince of Bizen, second councillor :—
Lossing's Field Book of Revolution—10 gallons whiskey.
Cabinet of Natural History of New York—1 lithograph.
1 clock—1 revolver—1 sword—1 rifle—1 dozen perfumery.

For Matsudaïira, prince of Idzumi, third councillor :—
Owen's Architecture—12 assorted perfumery.
View of Washington and plan of the city.
1 clock—1 rifle—1 sword—1 revolver—10 gallons wiskey.

For Matsudaïira, prince of Iga, fourth councillor :—
Documentary History of New York.
Lithograph of a steamer.
12 assorted perfumery.
1 clock—1 sword—1 rifle—1 revolver—10 gallons whiskey.

For Kuzhei, prince of Yamato, fifth councillor :—
Downing's Country Houses.
View of San Francisco—9 assorted perfumery.
1 revolver—1 clock—1 rifle—1 sword—10 gallons whiskey.

For Naïito, prince of Ki, sixth councillor :—
Owen's Geology of Minnesota and maps.
Lithograph of Georgetown, D.C. 10 gallons whiskey.
1 clock—1 rifle—1 revolver—1 sword—9 assorted perfumery.

For Ido, prince of Tsus-sima, second commissioner :—
Appleton's Dictionary, 2 vols. 9 assorted perfumery.
Lithograph of New Orleans. 5 gallons whiskey—box of tea.
1 sword—1 rifle—1 revolver—1 clock—box of of cherry cordial.

For Izawa, prince of Mimasaki, third commissioner :—

Model of life-boat.

View of steamer "Atlantic." 5 gallons whiskey.

1 rifle—1 revolver—1 clock—1 sword—9 assorted perfumery.

Box of cherry cordial—small box of tea.

Brass howitzer and two carriages.

For Udono, fourth commissioner :—

List of post-offices—box of tea.

Lithograph of elephant—9 assorted perfumery.

1 rifle—1 revolver—1 clock—5 gallons whiskey.

1 sword—box of cherry cordial.

For fifth commissioner :—[Matsusaki Michitarō]*

Lithograph of a steamer—1 revolver—6 assorted perfumery.

1 clock—1 sword—5 gallons whiskey—box of tea and cherry cordial.

These things were all arranged in the hall after the collation of tea and other eatables was over, and Captain Abbot delivered them in the Commodore's name on the part of the United States government, and the commissioners gave thanks for them ; they, however, restrained all expression of interest in them, and really knew almost nothing of what they were. The whole affair passed off very well, and if the sky had not wept so much it would have been a more interesting "funciao" than that of Wednesday last.

Tuesday, March 14th.—A boat's load of us went ashore this morning to open out and mark the presents, while others were to exhibit and prepare the agricultural implements, the telegraph, steam-engine and books. My errand was to open all the books and, with the aid of one of the Japanese, to write the presentation. He declined to break a single seal, and preferred that I should make out another triglott list which he would send

* Called by the Commodore "rather an equivocal character," and thought by him to be the Government spy upon the others. (*Narrative*, p. 347.)

in. Consequently, I had almost nothing to do, and after luncheon Dr. Morrow and I slipped out behind the house and reached the nearest hills beyond Yokohama without attracting the notice of any of our officials. Having attained this ridge, we started off into the country, selecting the copses and wooded hillsides as most likely to afford flowers and new plants. We rambled from one woodside to another, crossing fields of wheat and brassica to reach them, and found a few in flower; but we were rather too early, the old grass and leaves not yet being freshened by the coming heats of spring. The wheat was seen in great luxuriance growing in the richest, blackest soil I ever saw, and cultivated everywhere in rows by drilling. The landscape was beautiful, indicating great fertility and culture; from these hilltops few or no houses were seen, no farmsteads or hamlets, but here and there a laborer or woodcutter working solitarily, far away from their homes. There were few birds to be seen, pigeons and crows forming the chief part. The trees were beginning to swell, and in a week or more the country will begin to assume the hue of summer. We rambled along for several miles feeling as if we were let out of school, when we approached the seashore and descried a long village beneath us and a road leading to it, to which last we descended, avoiding the village. The charming prospect from this elevated point, joined to the idea of its having heretofore been hidden to all foreign eyes, rendered it one not soon to be forgotten. The high degree of tillage showed, too, that Japan hereabouts is able to support, and does, a dense population. Our list of plants procured was small, but among them was a kind of fern I never saw before, and perhaps new.*

Coming down into the road, we were presently taken in tow by a gay dressed watch-officer whose guardhouse lay so as to examine everybody going in and out of the village, and

* Two new ferns were discovered by these collectors in Japan. One hitherto unknown variety of clematis was named after the author "Clematis Williamsii" by Asa Gray.

accompanied us towards Yokohama. He was a pleasant fellow and willingly told us everything, stopping as we stopped, and behaving kindly to all he met. The whole population of course sallied out to see us, for we now crossed a large, fertile valley, where every person could see us from all sides, and civilly were they behaved too. No flowers to speak of were seen except Camellias and Peaches, of which they gave us branches, and thus we went on towards Yokohama, escorted all the way by one and another warden of the paths, everybody being as social and happy at seeing us as possible. I did what talking I could, and asked such questions as I knew how. When near Yokohama one of our officials came up behind us puffing and sweating, telling us he had been a long way after us and rubbing the perspiration from his brow. I begged him not to injure himself by overfatigue, but to help us find some violets on the bankside, which he did, and we soon were merry together. In the village he procured a cotton gin to show Dr. Morrow its principle of working, and cleaned a few seeds; it consists merely of two rollers working on screws made at their ends, the threads of which interlock. On reaching the house Yezaimon was waiting for us, everybody having been sent for to return on board, and very politely accompanied us to the ship.

Wednesday, March 15th.—While Kaheyōye was in conference yesterday with Captain Adams, a messenger came off in haste on board the "Mississippi" to inform him that some of our officers were committing excesses on shore and going off toward Yedo in haste. On this being reported, Perry issued an order for all the officers and men on shore to repair on board instantly, firing a gun to add energy to the command, I suppose, for all who could receive the order could hear the gun. Only three were out of hearing, Bittenger, Morrow and I, and a note was dispatched for the former who had gone as far as Kawasaki and had caused all this hubbub among these "insulars." He was overtaken and, on receiving the order, came back to the ship about nine o'clock, having been well received by the people at

every place he came to. His stories of what he saw are somewhat doubtful, at least until further corroboration; but the walk was an interesting one and showed the good temper of the people and the timidity of the government. In consequence of the order, a guard of four marines was landed this morning, and we all felt like prisoners; the entire squadron is out against poor Bittenger for putting all the officers in quarantine, as there was likelihood of their going ashore in a few days; but I doubt if the Japanese are likely to grant permission, though they would not interfere to stop us.

We were busied in arranging the steam-engine, laying the track; translating the list of presents formed my business. Part of them were carried away to-day; the Emperor's remain no longer. Mr. Brown took a few daguerreotypes, and the working of the garden engine amused us all for a time. On coming back in the evening, I had the draft of the treaty the Japanese propose in return for ours to translate. It is in eight articles, and proposes to commence a trade at Nagasaki the first of next Japanese year in coal, provisions and fuel, to be paid for in coin; and to open another port in five years after; no permission to be given to go about, and shipwrecked sailors and vessels are guaranteed protection and transmission of themselves and such property as is saved to their countrymen. Concerning trade at Napa and Matsmai, there is no permission, but the phrase is, "We cannot now cavil at it." This would intimate that the latter place was more independent than we had supposed, and perhaps the whole of Yesso is ruled by a tributary prince, as Lewchew is. The treaty is by no means well worded, and leaves many points open, though its framers doubtless mean to settle them themselves.

Art. I.—When ships of the United States come to Nagasaki they shall be supplied with wood, water, provisions and coal; and if they lack anything else for their necessities it shall be supplied them as far as we have it. The time for this going into effect is during the first month of next year; after five years we will

open another port for their accommodation. *Note.*—We may mention that the prices of these things shall be according to those paid by the Dutch and Chinese, and that they shall be exchanged for foreign gold and silver coin, and for no other article.

Art. II.—Wherever ships of the United States may be thrown or wrecked on our coasts our vessels will assist them and carry them to Nagasaki, and hand them over to their countrymen there; whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored. *Note.*—After the five years, when a new port is opened, that which has been saved shall be taken to the new port or to Nagasaki, as is most convenient.

Art. III.—As it is not easy to ascertain certainly whether those who may be thrown upon our shores are good men or are pirates, they are not to be allowed to go walking about at those places as they please.

Art. IV.—The Dutch aud Chinese who dwell at Nagasaki are under old regulations which cannot suddenly be altered; therefore, all Americans resorting there cannot be permitted to go ashore as they please.

Art. V.—After the other port is opened, if there be any other sort of articles wanted, or any business which requires to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle them.

Art. VI.—As Lewchew is a distant frontier dependency, the matter of opening a port there cannot at this time be caviled at by us.

Art. VII.—As Matsmai is a distant border place likewise, and is ruled by its hereditary prince, the matter of making a port is also hard to cavil at this time. When the ships of the United States come to Nagasaki next spring, this point can be leisurely discussed and arranged.

條約

一亞美理駕合衆國船到長崎港時應與以薪水食粮石炭若其有欠乏者亦應以我所有者給之且期以來春正月爲始五歲之後應開一港以容之

其講價一准唐山和蘭例而抵以洋金洋銀不以他物

一合衆國船遇風漂到我邦不論何處使我舟護而導之長崎港還附其人漂民所携諸物件亦并還之

五歲開港後則護送新港或長崎各從其便

一漂到船隻難保其果爲良民與海匪所在不許恣意行走

一長崎港唐山和蘭人所寓有舊例難遽變者故合衆國人到此者亦不許恣上岸

一開港之後應給以何等物品及事宜條件要應反覆商議以定之

一琉球島屬遠境其開港之議非當今所能辨

一松前亦係遠陲且有世守之侯開港之議亦難立辨俟來春貴舶到長崎港徐議之

Thursday, March 16th.—The intended meeting between the Commodore and the commissioners has been postponed till to-morrow on account of the storm; it is a cheerless place on a rainy day in that rude house. The condition of the common Japanese is not so comfortable as I had anticipated finding it, from what I had read. The villages I passed through exhibited evidences of poverty in every form; the houses are slight, the utensils scattered around few and rude; the domestic animals few, no hogs, cattle, ducks, geese, or sheep being seen, and only a few chickens, dogs, or cats; the people dressed in cotton and in tattered raiment, though well fed and healthy looking. The

houses are dark, when shut up, and this must prevent a good deal of in-door work in gloomy weather which our glazed apartments permit us to do. Temples are common, and gods of stone are numerous, some of them like the Briarean images of the Hindus, others as if only deified men, or deceased persons whose friends had put them up. The idols of the Buddhists were usually seen prominent in these collections, and *Ometo Fuh* was inscribed in many places. Tibetan letters were seen in two places, perhaps only the common inscription, *om mani pudme om*, which becomes the more mystical the less is known of it.

We entered a shop for a drink; its contents were sandals, pattens, vessels containing fish, sauces, and other things, spirits, and an assortment of clothing, the whole not worth ten dollars. I gave a few cash to a girl who brought the water, but our official conductors made her give them back. The people were respectful to these officers, yet not cringing; and probably this custom forms one of the strong bonds to keep the people in subjection.

Friday, March 17th.—The Commodore left the ship to-day at one o'clock, and was received on shore by the marines and an escort, with music, and met the four commissioners in the house. The conference was altogether about three hours and a half, and conducted very pleasantly by the Japanese. The refusal to go to Nagasaki at all was met by the proposal of another port, when Perry mentioned Uraga, and they Shimoda, pointing it out on the map. This place has a fine harbor, and the Commodore agreed to it provisionally, saying that he must first examine its location, and would send the "Vandalia" and "Southampton" down there immediately to inspect and survey it. It was surveyed in 1849 by H. B. M. Brig "Mariner," but no chart of it is in the squadron. Matsmai is to be consulted about, and an answer will be given at the next interview on Thursday, while they can say nothing regarding Lewchew; this, therefore, seems to settle the question respecting the political independency of that island as of Yedo, whatever may be its relations with

Satzuma. Sailors thrown ashore are not to be caged or confined, and to be restrained only after they are found guilty.

Thus most of the objections made to their treaty are likely to be met in a friendly spirit, and I hope nothing will arise to mar the beginning of a new era for them. When we were talking respecting the visit of surveying ships to Shimoda, Kaheyōye inquired if Mr. Bittenger was going, which rather amused us; and then I asked him if he was afraid of him, and this set the commissioners laughing. He said he was not afraid of him, but he made a great muss.

The oysters to-day were supplied abundantly, and if it had been a little warmer the visit would have been very agreeable. The telegraph wire is up a mile, the railroad will be ready for exhibition on Monday, and the various agricultural implements attract much notice. To-day, after Perry had left, a man of elegant manners and high rank (for everybody went down on their knees wherever he moved) landed and inspected everything with undisguised satisfaction. The commissioners came down from Kanagawa in a large barge, ornamented with banners and official umbrellas, and bearing the American flag on the side, a compliment I never heard of the Chinese doing. The boat was prettily painted and rather a gay thing.

Saturday, March 18th.—I have spent the whole day on shore, taking a list of the agricultural implements, and assisting in exhibiting them to the people around us, many of whom appeared interested in their manipulations. The most of these machines are far too expensive and complicated, I fear, for the majority of the agriculturists and gardeners of Japan. The operations of the tillers of the soil here, as in China, are on too small a scale for them to afford the cost, and human labor for these same too abundant to need such implements; and it will take much time to introduce them. The power of machinery, however, can find large fields for its exercise in these remote regions when once it is allowed full play.

The day passed rather tediously, as I had not much to do,

and the knowledge of the language is too limited yet to enable me to talk readily. I had a good opportunity to tell a considerable number of the spectators something about the resurrection, a matter totally new to them, and which struck them as wanting much evidence to lead one to believe it. During a walk to the marine's grave we saw a few new things, among which the extensive use of charms at graves written in Tibetan and Chinese characters was one. None of our friends knew what the former meant. Many new guard houses have been placed in Yokohama since we came, some of which are filled with persons bearing the coat-of-arms of the prince of Sinano.

Many of our visitors to-day are new, and I learn that several of those formerly here have been relieved by a second set, the others having gone to Uraga, among whom are Yezaimon and Saboroske.

Sunday, March 19th.—With the disregard of the Sabbath usual in this fleet, the "Southampton" was kept coaling during the night and most of the forenoon, in order to get her ready to leave for Shimoda with the "Vandalia." The "Supply" came up the bay this morning, disappointing more than she satisfied when her letter bag was distributed. Mr. Jones held service on board the flagship, Captain McCluney as before declining to attend. It is a matter of gratitude to hear of the welfare of dear friends, and get letters in Japan from Utica to December 1st. Mr. Contee's letter describing the landing of last year has been the chief sport for the fleet since the "Supply" came in.

Monday, March 20th.—Many changes in the officers of the squadron are ensuent on Dr. Gambrill's death and the return of the "Saratoga" with several invalids; Dr. Wheelwright and Mid. Stockton leave this ship. The Japanese came aboard twice yesterday, Isaboro being now the chief spokesman in place of Yezaimon, and an inferior man in all respects. To-day I have been ashore all day and, as if I was known now, no Japanese interpreter came to the house the whole time. This practice, of course, is just what I want, troublesome as the impertinent and

reiterated questioning sometimes becomes. There were very few visitors to-day, but many questions when the railcar will be in readiness to move. Some new plants were collected in a short walk, and shells, but we are a month too early for botany.

Tuesday, March 21st.—Dr. Morrow and I went off this morning on a search for an appropriate place to exhibit his hydrostatic ram, but after rambling two hours along the base of the hills back of the village, we returned unsuccessful. The officials who accompanied us were not much pleased with the tramp through tangled underbrush and boggy paths, for their straw sandals are ill fitted for getting over rough places. The season is not yet advanced enough to make these rambles pay in botanizing. The locomotive and tender were started on their circuit to-day, and went scudding round and round the circus like a Shetland pony, to the great pleasure of every spectator. The Japanese are, I think, more pleased with this thing than anything else we have given them.

Wednesday, March 22nd.—Another unsuccessful search for a proper place to exhibit the hydrostatic ram; but we came across some petrifactions in the rocks at the base of the cliff, and procured several specimens. The rock was in situ one hundred and fifty feet above water mark, in a friable conglomerate, colored with iron. Some plants were dug up that promise something. Our companions to-day were not well disposed to an extension of the walk, but I managed to keep them in good humor, especially on the matter of procuring a couple of ducks we saw in a yard.

A large party came to-day from Yedo and Kanagawa to see the locomotive and telegraph. We managed to communicate through Namura's aid by writing the sounds in Japanese and sending them literally. It satisfied them, however, and all appeared to understand the idea, though not the mode of its operation. This party of people were not a whit superior to any of the previous companies of visitors we have had, and I know not that they were of any higher rank. On reaching the

ship in the evening, we found that it had been agreed on to send the revised articles of the Treaty on board to-morrow, and deliver the return presents on Friday.

Thursday, March 23rd.—Hiraiyama Kenzhiro came off this morning with the following paper:—

貴國過往船隻水薪館舍之當然彼如諸置設不旨之給而請來境事月秋爲
倘缺食料我於准者港來境不得遠之始
缺食料我於准者港來境不得遠之矣
嘉永七年二月廿五日
林大學頭
井戸對馬守
伊澤美作守
鵜殿民部少輔

"Ships of your nation passing by, and being in want of provisions, fuel and water, are permitted to procure them at the port of Hakodade, which we desire may be regarded as consonant with the desire expressed in the letter received from you. But as it is a distant place, and time will be necessary to prepare and settle everything there, it is arranged that the 7th month of our next year (Sept. 6th to Oct. 5th) be the date for opening the port.

"Kayei, 7th year, 2nd month, 25th day (Mar. 23rd, 1854).

"Hayashi, Dai-gaku no kami
"Ido, Tsus-sima no kami
"Izawa, Mimasaki no kami
"Udono, Mimbu shiyoyu."

This gives permission to our whalers to repair to the port of Hakodade near Matsmai for supplies, and the time appointed for opening it will probably be as soon as arrangements can be made. Whether it will prove a good place for furnishing these ships with supplies remains to be seen after a few experiments have been made. It is probably a small and unimportant place

now, and time will be required to attract traders and provisioners there.

Friday, March 24th.—The "Susquehanna" started for Hongkong early this morning, much to the regret of most of her officers, especially the captain, who are thus disappointed in seeing more of the country of which they will be expected to have learned almost everything; and, what annoys them still more, they are unable to get any articles of rarity of Japanese manufacture, or see what is more to be seen of their customs. The Commodore reached the shore in his barge about noon, the four commissioners having been there some two hours before him. On reaching the hall, we found the return presents from their government spread out on the mats, lying in pretty pine trays, and making a pretty show in consequence, far more so than ours did, done us as the most of them were in brown paper and rough boxes. Some of the pieces of lacquered ware in raised gold figures were beautiful, and the silks were rather fine, especially the heavy crapes; the patterns of these last were quite unlike anything now made elsewhere. The list will exhibit the variety.*

1st.—From the Japanese government to U. S. A.

1 gold lacquered writing table, writing apparatus, paper box and bookcase, four pieces. 1 bronze cow-shaped censer, with a silver flower on top—1 set plates or trays—1 bouquet holder and stand—2 braziers for charcoal—10 ps. each, white and red pongee, and 5 each, figured and dyed crape.

2nd.—From Hayashi to U. S. A. government.

1 lacquered apparatus and paper-box—1 box paper, of flowered paper, and 5 of stamped note paper—4 boxes assorted 100 kinds sea shells—1 box holding a branch of coral and a silver feather—1 lacquered

* It is rather curious that the author makes no mention of the "four small dogs of a rare breed sent to the President as a part of the Emperor's gift," (*Narrative*, p. 369) which the Commodore tells us "always form part of a Japanese royal present."

chowchow box—1 box set of 3 goblets—7 boxes cups, spoons and goblet cut from conch shells.

3rd.—From Ido, prince of Tsus-sima.

2 boxes 4 lacquered waiters—20 paper umbrellas—30 coir brooms.

4th.—From Izawa, prince of Mimasaki.

1 ps. each, red and white pongee, 13 dolls, box of woven bamboo articles, and 2 bamboo stands.

5th.—From Udono, member of Revenue Board.

3 ps. striped crape, 20 porcelain cups, and 10 jars of soy.

6th.—From Matsusaki.

3 boxes porcelain cups, 1 box figured matting, and 35 bdls. oak charcoal.

7th.—From Abe, first Councillor.

15 ps. striped figured pongee or taffeta.

8th-12th.—From the other six councillors.

10 ps. striped figured pongee from each councillor.

13th.—From Emperor to Commodore Perry.

1 lacquered writing apparatus and paper box, 3 ps. red and 2 ps. white pongee, 2 ps. flowered and 3 ps. figured dyed crape.

14th.—From Commissioners to Captain Adams.

3 ps. red pongee, 2 figured crape, and 24 lacquered cups and covers.

15th.—From Commissioners to Perry,* Williams and Portman, each.

2 ps. red pongee, 2 of dyed figured crape, and 10 sets cups and covers.

16th.—From Commissioners to Draper, Danby, Gay, Williams† and Morrow.

1 ps. red dyed figured crape and 10 lacquered cups and covers.

* O. H. Perry, the Commodore's son and secretary.
† J. P. Williams, telegrapher, the author's brother.

17th.—From Emperor to squadron.

200 bundles of rice and 300 chickens. Each bundle contained five Chinese pecks or 斗, *tau*.

There are in all 132 ps. of silk. Everything was brought off, and, except the chickens, are all to be sent to Washington.

After the exhibition of the presents, the commissioners invited Perry out in front, and soon ninety naked *rikoshi*, or athletæ, paraded in front to show their brawn by carrying the bundles of rice in various ways; some, two on their heads, others, one in their teeth, at the end of their arms, or on their backs. These fellows are trained to such feats and were all stout-limbed men; the biggest stripped to let Perry punch him in his paunch. They were brought to this village from Yedo, and we regarded it as a good sign that the commissioners should take some pains to amuse us. From this spot the company repaired to the railroad, where the locomotive was soon ready to run its race around the ring, a spectacle which interested the natives greatly. On returning to the house, the company was seated facing the inner yard, where the strongest of the athletæ were brought forward to exhibit their prowess. First, the whole body of them stood in a circle and went through a sort of drill, or manual, slapping their breasts, rubbing their hands, arm-pits, and knees, with other motions, after which they marched off. A second company, dressed a little with long fancy aprons, then circled the ring, going through with similar motions. The match then began, two and two coming into the ring. First, squatting on their feet, opposite each other, the two began to rub themselves with dirt on the palms and arm pits, and then advanced to the centre in a steady step. Here, each stretched out one leg after the other, holding his knee with a close grip and planting his foot in the earth with a heavy groan, or grunt, several times, again rubbing his hands in the gravel like a bull pawing the earth. All this took up a minute or more, and then each, seizing the other's shoulders, endeavored to push his antagonist over; one butted his head with all his

force against the other's breast, while that one only tried to throw him by turning his body, and generally succeeded in doing so, he coming to the ground with a thump that showed the force exerted. In only one case was there anything like wrestling. All the men were heavy, and seemed strong too; the biggest remained victor. Some of them rushed up screaming like mad, but these generally proved to be weaklings. It was a curious, barbaric spectacle, reminding one of the old gladiators. Indeed, there was a curious mélange to-day here, a junction of the east and west, railroads and telegraph, boxers and educated athletæ, epaulettes and uniforms, shaven pates and night-gowns, soldiers with muskets and drilling in close array, soldiers with petticoats, sandals, two swords, and all in disorder, like a crowd—all these things, and many other things, exhibiting the difference between our civilization and usages and those of this secluded, pagan people.

The interview lasted two or three hours; at the close of it, Commissioner Lin gave Perry two swords, three matchlocks and two sets of coins. All the high officers seemed in good spirits, and everybody left for the ships much amused with the day's show. Oh! how desirable that our opening intercourse may produce different results, calculated to elevate and purify the Japanese, so that they may learn the real source of our superiority in the momentous truths of the Bible.

Saturday, March 25th.—M. Yenoske, Isaboro, Kenzhiro and others came to see Perry to-day, while we were all hurried here and there to pack and mark the presents received yesterday. They wished him to defer his visit to Matsmai for one hundred days, but he refused to do so more than fifty; they said interpreters must go there via Yedo, and the dialect differs so much there that I cannot understand them. The Japanese are unwilling to allow consuls, as they say the governor and interpreter can manage all things with the captain of the ship. The discussion respecting trade after the treaty, walking about, furnishing coal, and the immediate opening of Simoda, was on

the whole favorable. In the course of the interview, it came out that, owing to Pellew's foray into Nagasaki harbor, and the suicides of the native officials, great fear was entertained of the designs and violence of the English. It was agreed to-day that a tariff of prices of merchandise, coal, provisions, and other things be made out, for the purpose of informing our people that ships may know what they are to pay and what they can get in Japan.

Monday, March 27th.—There was nothing done in the ships to-day but make preparation for the entertainment given here to Hayashi and his colleagues, with other officials; the five former were provided for in the cabin, and about sixty came to the tables on deck. Good humor prevailed and the whole appeared to be gratified. The commissioners first went to the "Macedonian," where they saw an exhibition of the manner of training, loading and firing great guns, and all the other evolutions of a ship's company at general quarters. When this was over, they left that ship under a salute, and were received by Commodore Perry on the quarter-deck and conducted over the ship, including the engine, which was put in motion for their entertainment. It greatly surprised them, and apparently bewildered some of them. Dinner was now ready, and above and below all prepared to taste the good things provided for them. Captains Abbot, Lee, Adams, and Walker assisted the Commodore, and they furnished the Japanese with a sample of everything on the table, sipping wine, tasting meats, preserves, pastry and other rarities, until they were all very well satisfied. I managed to tell them the names of nearly or quite everything, which also seemed to increase the interest in the feast. But the appearance of four large cakes, each having a miniature flag with the coats-of-arms of the four commissioners on it stuck in it, was the best hit; they received the compliment as a well-timed one.

About half-past five o'clock all went forward and listened to a performance of singing and dancing by the minstrels until it

was too late for them to stay longer ; this exhibition was a source of great merriment to them and every one present, for the acting was excellent. About two hundred Japanese altogether were on board, and the day passed off without accident, and to the gratification of everybody.

Tuesday, March 28th.—At noon the Commodore met the Japanese commissioners on shore and discussed some of the points he had drawn up, including those which had been accepted. That for opening Simoda as soon as the Treaty was signed was objected to so strongly that a compromise was agreed upon, which amounted to deferring all trade there, except for this squadron, until the President had promulgated his orders and notices that the place was available. Another hesitancy was seen in the limits to which Americans might go from the ports, and it was at last limited to seven Japanese miles, and a man was to be back the same day. "Temporarily" was also inserted before the word "residing" in this article, as they did not see the use of putting residents on shore there. A good deal of discussion of a friendly nature was carried on to-day upon several points of the Treaty, and all its points and articles were settled. How much has been gained over what I expected last spring when I was asked to come here! How thankful ought we all to be that no collision has taken place!

Wednesday, March 29th.—Doing up specimens of American coins, and preparing articles of the Treaty all the morning, which Yenoske cavilled at when he came in the afternoon, accepting some and altering or rejecting others. All the management of the Treaty seems to have been transferred to his hands by the commissioners, for Kenzhiro and others with him said almost nothing. In all these consultations Yenoske seems to possess decisive authority, and he is pretty well fitted for it. Objection was made to the distance allowed for rambles, and the point was conceded for Simoda, starting from a small island in the harbor, and for Hakodade, when the Commodore has been there. A curious objection was made to the ratification of the

Treaty, as the Emperor needed only to approve what his commissioners had done, and then it would be evermore obeyed. This people seem to be bred into a full idea of the "right of kings divine, to do just as they have a mind," and to liberate them from such a thraldom can only be brought about by the Gospel. The discussion of one point and another, the appointment of consuls, the opening of the port of Simoda, and the distance to which Americans may ramble there, prolonged the interview till dark. During the afternoon Kenzhiro wrote the following as either expressing his dislike or predilections:

"In the vast expanse of the world's extent, are not all the tender children of the 天帝, Heavenly Ruler? Among them, courtesy, good faith, kindness and justice ought to rule as they do among own brothers; but if, covetous of gain, things are carried to an extreme, all ought to be ashamed of it and not speak thereof; yet to discourse of warlike affairs and the necessary modes of commotion, slaughter and battle is not unworthy of continual talk and research." If he alluded to the deliberations then going on it was a hint that we were rather quiddling.

Thursday, March 30th.—The same party came early today and, after going over their Dutch version and making one from it and Mr. Portman's, all the articles, twelve in number, were agreed to, some other points being put into a supplementary letter, one of which was that Simoda is not actually to be opened till next autumn; and another respecting consuls. Yenoske, in return for all that Perry had given him, brought a box of sweetmeats; and it was a pretty box indeed. In return he took away a box of Lowell cottons, and also the presents for Kaheyōye, and a promise of a brass howitzer for the two princes, Izawa and Ido, for which they had been asking again and again. It is not for want of cumshaws to the Japanese that we shall fail of making a treaty, especially drinkables of all sorts; though I suppose this is the way to do such negotiations the world over.

Friday, March 31st.—Last evening Kenzhiro came about

eight o'clock with the Chinese version of the Treaty done from the Japanese, and, after some alterations and the correction of one important error respecting the distance allowed for rambling at Simoda, the whole was agreed upon. This morning a fair copy was made, and about a quarter of one o'clock the Commodore left the ship. On meeting the Japanese commissioners, they exhibited three copies of the Japanese version and one each of the Dutch and Chinese, while we had three copies of the English and one each of the Dutch and Chinese. They first opened theirs at the seals to show the rubrics attached to the name of each commissioner, instead of a seal, and then the Commodore signed the three English copies in their presence. The two copies of the Dutch version were then compared and found to be the same, when they were exchanged, one being signed by Yenoske, the other by Mr. Portman. After this, the Chinese copies were compared, and one character erased in one of them, but when I wished them to sign their copy and date it a difficulty arose, for they wished only to date it in Kayei's name and year, while I required both theirs and ours, as in the Dutch. They declined to write the characters for "our Lord Jesus Christ," and the Commodore allowed the omission,* after which they dated it, and Matsusake Michitaro signed it with his rubric; and I signed the other and gave it in exchange. Thus completed the negotiations and signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa, the first one ever made by the Japanese. Long may they rejoice over the blessings it will bring them, and may the Disposer of nations and events make it the opening whereby his great Name may be declared unto them. After so many years of seclusion, He has inclined them to listen to this application to loosen the strictness of their laws, and I sincerely hope they will never have occasion to repent of the privileges granted on this day.

* No mention is made of this in the *Narrative*, where the phrase occurs in the English copy of the Treaty. The ninth article of this Treaty containing the "most favored nation" clause was suggested by Dr. Williams.

The Treaty being signed, a dinner was brought us, though it hardly came up to our expectations. The first course was composed of tea, candy tied in knots and sponge cake. The second, of raw oysters, mushroom soup, boiled pear, eggs pressed together after boiling into cakes and then cut into strips, seaweed cooked with sugar, raw ginger, boiled walnuts, and mushrooms, hot and cold saki served as occasion required. The third, of boiled bream, large crawfish, shrimp, sliced fish, bean soup with greens, seaweed in fine threads, greens, boiled bamboo and onions, with the long yam, a vegetable I never saw before. The fourth, of fish soup, taro, blancmange, with the word *shau*, or longevity, on it in a cypher in red, boiled chestnuts, and one or two other unknown matters. As a whole, it was not equal to the dinners given at Shui, and would doubtless have been better served at Yedo or even Kanagawa.

Dinner being over, a long discussion ensued respecting the visit to Yedo, to which the Japanese made many objections, and requested the Commodore as a personal favor not to go up the bay; but he told them it must be done, as the President had ordered it, even if they did not let him go ashore. It ended by the closing of further useless alternation of arguments, and each wishing the other good-bye. Commissioner Lin said that it was the firm determination of the Japanese never to open the port or Bay of Yedo to foreign ships. At leaving, Captain Adams handed over the list of the presents still on hand.

Saturday, April 1st.—The list of agricultural instruments and seeds was given to the interpreters this morning, and a number of carpenters were ready to begin to pack them up, as well as the telegraph and locomotive. This being done as far as we had anything to say, Dr. Morrow and I started off to collect plants, though the slight frost and cold weather lately had rather retarded than hastened their development. We went up the creek and crossed the bridge, where we saw a fellow throwing a net in which came up a fine surmullet, a silure, and a sort of perch, but we had no means of carrying them off. Proceed-

ing northward across the valley, we reached the hill and went onward for about three miles, finding little to repay us, but much to see. At one farmhouse we procured a little cotton seed, while no one has seen the cotton growing hitherto. In the next valley we reached the highroad leading westward from Yedo, and came into the village of Hodangya stretching along both sides of it for a mile. The people were all abroad, and all pleased to see the foreigners as we were to see them. The shops were low buildings, with nearly the whole front open, displaying only the common necessaries of life. On one sign we noticed the name Vroum von Metter in Roman capitals, and on another the efficacy of a medicine introduced by the Dutch from abroad was extolled. A few two-storied houses, with the gable ends to the street, seemed to be the dwellings of the better sort; their window blinds were made of two-inch plank trebled; some windows were grated. A covered way stretched along the whole street, but not so as to protect foot passengers from the rain; it was merely a shelter for the individual householder. The road was nearly a macadamized one; a few packhorses were seen, but no vehicles, and almost no animals. The crowd gave way as we went on, everyone preserving the utmost order; among them the women, with their black teeth, looked the more repulsive the more they laughed, and three or four naked fellows who had run out from their work looked odd amid the dressed crowd. As a whole, the line of shops and houses did not equal a similar row in China, and the people were not, I thought, as large on the average. Dr. Morrow and I were almost a head above them.

A Copy of the Treaty of Kanagawa.

The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix in a manner clear and positive, by means of a Treaty or General Convention of Peace and Amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed

in the intercourse of their respective countries; for which most desirable object, the President of the United States has conferred full powers on his commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, Special Ambassador of the United States to Japan; and the August Sovereign of Japan has given similar powers to his commissioners, Hayashi, Dai-gaku no kami, Ido, prince of Tsus-sima, Izawa, prince of Mimasaki, and Udono, member of the Board of Revenue. And the said commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles:—

I.—There shall be a perfect, permanent and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the Empire of Japan on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places.

II.—The port of Simoda in the principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodade in the principality of Matsmai, are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first named port is immediately on signing this Treaty; the last named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year. *Note.*—A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they can furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.

III.—Whenever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coasts of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them and carry their crews to Simoda or Hakodade, and hand them over to their countrymen appointed to receive them; whatever articles the ship-wrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored, and the expences incurred in the rescue and

support of Americans and Japanese who may thus be thrown upon the shores of either nation are not to be refunded.

IV.—Those shipwrecked persons and other citizens of the United States shall be free as in other countries, and not subjected to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

V.—Shipwrecked men, and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Simoda and Hakodade shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasaki; but shall be free at Simoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese *ri* or miles from a small island in the harbor of Simoda, marked in the accompanying chart hereto appended; and shall be free in like manner to go where they please at Hakodade, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

VI.—If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

VII.—It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin and articles of goods for other articles of goods, under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they may be* unwilling to exchange.

VIII.—Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

* Are in the published text of the Treaty.

IX.—It is agreed that if at any future day the government of Japan shall grant to any other nation, or nations, privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof without any consultation or delay.

X.—Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Simoda and Hakodade, unless in distress, or forced by stress of weather.

XI.—There shall be appointed by the government of the United States consuls or agents to reside in Simoda at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this Treaty, provided that either of the two governments deem such arrangement necessary.

XII.—The present convention, having been concluded and duly signed, shall be obligatory and faithfully observed by the United States of America and Japan, and by the citizens and subjects of each respective power; and it is to be ratified and approved by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the august Sovereign of Japan, and the ratification shall be exchanged within eighteen months from the date of the signature thereof, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and the Empire of Japan, aforesaid, have signed and sealed these presents.

Done at Kanagawa, March 31st, 1854, and Kayei, 7th year, 3rd month, and 3rd day.

Sunday, April 2nd.—Mr. Jones did not come aboard the "Powhatan" to-day, but I had opportunity to go to the "Mississippi." Notwithstanding our repeated requests, a party of Japanese came aboard to-day and remained drinking and talking

most of the afternoon. The interpreters have doubtless learned at Nagasaki that the Sabbath is only a longer holiday and nothing of a holy day; and doubt not they will find it so here too. They brought Perry five pieces of crape to-day in return for the pistols, cloth and wine he has given them.

Tuesday, April 4th.—The "Saratoga" left this morning, carrying some invalids and Captain Adams with his Treaty. I have hardly ever been so affected by any music as I was to-day by the "Mississippi's" band playing Home, Sweet Home, as the "Saratoga" passed her; it brought tears to some eyes.

Thursday, April 6th.—Commodore Perry and a party landed to-day for a walk. The howitzer and its two carriages, and ten boxes of tea were taken ashore as the last presents to be made to the officers here. The gun will doubtless be regarded as a great prize; the first question was, "Where is the powder and shot?" and "Let us see you fire it off." I suppose the Japanese will soon begin to cast others like it, and think themselves able to resist foreign aggression as soon as they have made guns. After a few cups of tea had been served, the party started, going towards the old telegraph house, and then into a small *mia*, or Buddhist temple, having three images and some tablets. The chief image seemed to be cut out of the root of a tree. The inscriptions were all in Chinese, but there was no time to get their explanation.

From this we struck across the rice fields along the dyke, and ascended the hills west of Yokohama and down into a pretty dell, where we rested in a small temple for some time. It was a charming spot, and the camellias, peaches and plums, all in full flower, gave it a gay appearance, while the delightful temperature made everybody feel happy. The people living here came out to see the foreigners, but our official escort repelled them to a distance. We saw the tea plant growing in this nook, the first row of it I have noticed.

From this the Commodore returned to the village and paid the headman a visit, as I had suggested to him, to conduct us

round that way. In his yard was a curious pine tree, the trunk of which was about four feet high, and the top spread out like an umbrella twenty feet or more in diameter; it was the result of thirty years' labor and culture, and was in a healthy state, full of flowers. It was not so large as one we saw last Saturday near a village up the valley, that being on the loamy bank of a stream. Besides this, our host had a fir tree bearing several branches of pine grafted in, which he evidently took some pride in. During the visit his wife and daughter came out, one bringing his grandson, and making themselves part of the party. It was instructive to see how utterly regardless of the man and his family Yenoske and his fellows all acted, sitting on the mats smoking and laughing among themselves. I suspect the lower ranks of life in Japan are kept from rising by an iron hand; and yet how totally unprepared they are for asserting their rights is too plain to everyone. This man has been obliged, probably, to accommodate several officers since we came, and perhaps much of the cost of entertaining us and them has fallen on the village. We left and returned on board altogether, leaving nothing behind at the house.

To our surprise our host of this morning came aboard the "Powhatan" about half past eight o'clock, bringing with him a fan and a dozen sheets of paper to get my teacher to write him some autographs. He had heard that we were soon to leave, and this was his only way to see the ship. We gave him a few presents, and he departed mightily pleased with his reception; he is a general favorite, especially with Dr. Morrow and me, whom he has accompanied most cheerfully in many a long ramble. I hope he may be able to keep what he took with him, for he told me that he had been forced to give up some of the seed formerly given him.

Saturday, April 8th.—Yesterday was a rainy, cold day, and the quiet of the ships in the blasts which now and then swept by us showed the excellence of the anchorage and the security ships can expect in this place. A heavy storm doubt-

less was felt on the coasts, but this morning opened clear and invigorating, refreshing everybody by the bright sunshine. Mt. Fusi and all the high land at its base was covered with snow, showing the little advance yet made in the coming on of spring compared with what might be inferred from the vegetation along shore. Some of the snow had disappeared before night. The water has been all delivered now to the ships, for which the Japanese will take no pay. No provisions have been brought us for many days, and many a chicken and duck came to an untimely end by the cold last night, so that it is about time to be moving. In fact, our official purveyors have given us very few eatables, and not exerted themselves to supply us with what could be obtained ; at least, this is a reasonable conclusion from their conduct. Perhaps live stock cannot be easily obtained hereabouts, but fish, vegetables and shell-fish can ; and these are not brought off any more than the others. In the Japanese is to be seen the same curious mixture of politeness and unmeaning assent, half-promise and non-performance, that is exhibited by the Chinese, and I think by all heathen people advanced to any degree of artificial society. The promise to perform and the excuse for not performing are alike heartless, and can only be removed, I think, by a sense of fear. Probably it is indisposition to exert themselves which prompts this conduct, though, too, they may not be willing to tell us all the reasons and circumstances of the case.

Sunday, April 9th.—The misty drizzle of the forenoon quite prevented all services on deck, but there was no work going on to speak of. The Commodore was taken up by a long discussion with Yenoske and Kenzhiro about going up the bay. He says the President ordered him to go to Yedo, and he told the commissioners a month ago that he was going, and they made no objection ; other oft-repeated arguments were brought up, but no consent could be got out of them. They said Japanese laws were very strict, that great commotion would ensue, that the bay was shallow, that the Treaty was signed,

that the Emperor would be irritated, that, as we had professed friendly feelings for them, they wished us as friends not to go, and would regard it as a personal favor, and, lastly, that very serious personal consequences might result, intimating almost jeopardy of honor and life, if we thus implicated them. It was agreed that the ships would not anchor unless they grounded, and then the whole party, as if willing to draw good from an evil, asked permission to go up in the steamers with the Commodore that they might see the working of their machinery!

The fact is, the presence of such an armament, in the view of the officials, involves the intention and will to use it; for this they would do. Consequently, mere curiosity to see Yedo cannot be motive enough in us to go, because it would not with them. The exposedness of their capital has startled them, and every subterfuge must be practiced to keep us from seeing more than the surveying boats saw, for what motive can we have in such a nearer view than ultimate conquest or pillage or ransom? Judging us by themselves, our former forbearance, while possessed of so much power, can now be explained as having been exercised until the Treaty was signed; now we wish to learn modes of approach for future use, if we do not at present contemplate violence. Conscious weakness induces many a cunning fetch which can only be explained by trying to place ourselves in the position of the weaker party; and the fear of ultimate designs is, I think, the leading motive of their strong objection to our moving up. Yet after every dissuasive had been exhausted, it was not the less characteristic of them to ask a passage, not only to excuse themselves by the plea that they had done all they could to detain us, but to see what they had long desired to see in the working of the machinery.

Monday, April 10th.—By eight o'clock this morning the whole squadron were on the start, and bound for Yedo. The day was tolerably clear, and our Japanese visitors seemed to have little fear to any dreadful result of the day's excursion. By noon we had gone about ten miles from Yokohama and seen the

suburb of Shinagawa pretty distinctly, and its numerous rows or detachments of boats, not so many by far as I expected. The beacon we had so long had in view proved to be a tower of a temple inland and near Kawasaki, called Kawasaki Daishigawara, a place of resort and note. We went within about eight miles of a long row of stakes stretching along in front of Yedo, but not so near as to prevent large junks lying inside of it, and turned about in one hundred feet of water! If a man is a Commodore I suppose he can do as nobody else would, in order to show that he can do as he likes; and after all that had been said about going to Yedo, to say that we had left off four miles short of the surveying boats, and fully eight of the city, was rather an imputation on common sense on our part. I was much disappointed; for, except a line of stakes and a long row of trees above Shinagawa and a smoky cloud above, with plenty of junks and boats below to indicate the probable position of the city, I saw nothing satisfactory. As one of the officers said, it should have been on the First of April instead of the Tenth, to make such a humbug appropriate. I have upheld and approved the Commodore's acts in most cases, where others have sharply ridiculed them, but this day's work was small enough. I have now been three times bound for Yedo, approaching nearer each time, and perhaps the fourth trial will land me there, or at least near enough to see it.

The "Lexington" drifted on shore when getting under way this morning, and the "Mississippi" returned to tow her off and bring her down to join the squadron. The scenes on board are said to have much amused the crew.

Friday, April 14th.—American Anchorage.

No intercourse allowed with the shore here, and no visitors allowed to come near us, every native boat being kept away from the ships by a guard-boat, armed with authority to maintain non-intercourse. The "Macedonian" went to sea on the 11th early in the day, supposed to be bound for the Bonin Islands, as she took some agricultural implements. The "Sup-

ply" and "Southampton" went down the bay this morning, perhaps to Simoda. Surveying the anchorage goes on slowly by reason of the rough sea, and we are likely to be quarantined here a few days longer. It is rather wearisome to be in sight of fields and headlands so long as we have been, and be debarred from seeing and rambling over them.

Went aboard of a junk lying off, stationed to guard us, in order to deliver a letter for Yenoske, informing him of the sailing of the two ships. We were kindly received and shown whatever there was worth looking at, which was little enough. Nothing to eat, nowhere to sleep, and nothing to do, was about the whole of the matter for these sailors. They asked us when we were to leave, to which we replied they need not tarry any longer on our account. The main room had a thick deck and a tent-shaped roof; a dull fire was burning in a brazier or hearth in the middle of the deck, in a depression made for it, over which we found five or six of the crew crouching and smoking. The lockers, beams and furniture of the cabin were all lacquered, and kept pretty clean too; but some of the lockers they opened for us were dirty. The capstan to hoist the big rudder was unshipped; it worked in two holes in beams, and was shaped like an oblong nine-pin. Six four-pronged grappling irons formed the ground tackle, and two well made coir hawsers; the tassel which hangs from the prow was made of haircloth rolled around a mat. The tiller was larger in proportion even than the Chinese, and similarly hung; there were more points of resemblance to Chinese junks than I had supposed, and not a bit more of comfort.

Monday, April 17th.—Spent the forenoon in rambling over Natsu-sima, or Webster Island, as we have named it. The position of this islet off Kanazawa facilitates its cultivation, and the moist part of its surface is covered with thatching grass, but whether this useful Arundo grows from wild stock or is cultivated here could not be determined. Two fields of barley in ear and a patch of vegetables are all the tilled spots. On the

northwest corner is a shrine and a grave, both of them having rude statues, the latter covered by a shed and having a bell hung near. They were both places of worship, and we met a fisherman and his family ascending the hill to offer their orisons. Some cash and bits of rags were laid near each of them, but no other offerings, nor any places of ashes, as in China, from which I infer that incense sticks and paper are not as commonly burned. The suspension of rags around graves reminds one of the custom among Moslems, but no one which I have seen has the great number seen in the Mohammedan *welys*.

We collected crustacea, fish, shells, insects, plants, everything which was worth carrying away, but the beautiful actinia were in too deep water to be easily procured; they looked very pretty, spreading their arms in every direction to collect their prey, and were so numerous as to give a gay appearance to the bottom. The low tide brought some dozen or two people to dig for clams, and the unblushing effrontery of these fishermen, as indeed of most whom we have seen, shows how much Japan needs the gospel of purity and love.

Tuesday, April 18th.—Simoda Bay.

The anchors were at the cat-heads before sunrise this morning, and the two steamers under weigh, coursing down this Bay of Yedo, probably for their last time. The day was smoky, so that we saw but comparatively little of the coasts, and were quite unable to discern any smoke from the summit of Oö-sima, which was wholly free from snow, and looked much less beautiful than when we passed it in February. A visit to this volcano would well repay the trouble. Approaching the eastern shores of the peninsula of Idzu, we sailed near enough to discern the village along the sterile beach, but the background exhibited the industry bestowed upon it in the vast extent of terracing, which here far exceeded what we had hitherto seen. In one place, fifty steps of fields were counted, all covered with wheat. In the intervals, doubtless a large population is found to furnish hands to accomplish all this work.

About three o'clock we came into the harbor of Simoda, and all were surprised at the variety of scenery and picturesque character of the shores. The hills rise to a height of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet, many lower ones covered with trees, lining the beach and adding a pleasing foreground in contrast with the barren and loftier mountains behind. The village of Simoda lies on the southwestern shores, and that of Kakisaki, or Persimmon Point, on the northern end of the harbor, both of them small towns compared with what we had been led to expect.

Wednesday, April 19th.—The interpreter, Tatsunoske, came again this morning, but produced none of the things he promised yesterday; in reality he is one of the most shiftless fellows we have to do with, and takes no trouble at all to get anything we ask for. In company with him came the prefect Kaheyōye and another officer named Nakadai Nobutaro, probably his spy. There were in all a dozen officials all of whom as usual were glad to get a smack of toddy, wine and cake in the cabin where they lingered a good while, talking and excusing themselves from doing or promising anything. The trip to Oō-sima was spoken of, but they had no instructions respecting it and could say nothing; the way is to go first and talk about the arrangements afterwards, so far as asking permission goes. In the afternoon Mr. Portman and I went ashore to carry a list of provisions to be obtained, most of which Tatsunoske said could not be got, and a walk through the town confirmed his denial, so far as such a glance could prove anything. The town lies at the opening of two valleys, down one of which a small creek makes its way through the town, and forms by its mouth facilities for landing. At the landing place is a small shrine under a large pine, and near it a hillside covered with trees invites one to explore its grassy slopes. The town is regularly laid out at right angles, each street having a gate at each end, much more slightly made than in China but guarded with more care. The streets are wider than in Chinese towns, which makes the

houses appear lower. The most of the shops and dwellings were of plaster, the roofs of tiling, and the fronts worked in raised white checker work on a blue ground. The tiling is made of blue-black thick tiles which lap over each other on the side, one edge being made doubly thick and umbo-shaped, so as to catch the thin edge of the next row; the ridges are therefore much smaller than in China, but more likely to leak, as the overlapping cannot be so well secured. A few houses were two-storied, but none presented indications of wealth, nor was there any place which seemed to be a market. The shops, so far as we could see, furnished a beggarly catalogue of sandals, groceries and such stuff, and a total absence of the bustle of Hodangya proved the poverty of the port. The cancer of the social system was seen in the contempt shown to the women, but the power of the government was exhibited, too, in the sway exercised upon the crowds which thronged us. We went to the Riozhen-zhé, 了仙寺, a temple of the Buddhists of considerable extent, having five priests in it and many ancestral tablets; on these last are many names written, and most of them were varnished or gilded. Perhaps they are orbate tablets. There was a graveyard near this establishment, and a small attempt at a garden with a pond spanned by its tiny bridge leading to the top of a huge boulder. The grounds and house were scrupulously clean, and the priest, named Nichizhio, 日淨, or Clean as the Sun, received us courteously. From this we went to four other *tera* or Buddhistic temples, and one where a deified hero, called Goman-taro, of Yoritomo's time is worshipped. Votive offerings were hung around, and in a sort of porch were many pictures of shipwrecks, persons struggling with the waves, or just clambering ashore, and under them dozens of pigtails strung along a board, the sacrifice of these rescued sailors which they had cut from their heads to evince their gratitude. It recalled to mind the offering of Berenice when Ptolemy was saved from shipwreck. Besides these, we saw a sword, a bow of large size, tablets and pictures, all given

in as votive offerings, rendering the whole an interesting spot. The idols of the Japanese show more study and just idea of sculpture than the Chinese, so far as my observation goes, though neither are founded on just principles.

All the temples were situated back of the village, alongside of each other, approached by paved walks mostly lined with large trees. A row of magnificent mowtans proved that it was at home in Simoda; one flower was ten inches across. A tree like a maple in its leaf, a purple magnolia, a spirea, a plum, red and white azalia, and a tree like the funeral cypress, were the principal plants observed. All these establishments looked rather effete, as if they had once seen better days; and perhaps they were built when Simoda was the port of Yedo, instead of Uraga, and maintained a large train of customs officials.

Thursday, April 20th.—The storm has entirely prevented all visits nor have any Japanese come near us, but the security of the harbor has been well proven, at least for all north winds. The people of Simoda do not go out fishing much, and its shipping interests are plainly at a low figure.

In our walk yesterday we were followed by most of the population, and all seemed healthy and well-fed. Ophthalmic complaints are prevalent, and small-pox has made its mark; the children are seldom pretty and, of the two sexes, the boys are the most inviting; a few goodlooking girls hardly made amends for the scores of ugly or plain females—but a Houri or Hebe would never be able to stand roll-call after blackening her teeth and shaving her eyebrows. The women kept in the back of the crowd, as much from necessity as choice, I thought.

In one of the temples we saw six horses that were haltered by a nose curb tied to each side of the stall; it held them securely, as was proved by their restive struggles at seeing us. Two gun carriages were also noticed here, apparently old and well taken care of. The insides of all these temples were varnished, nor have I yet seen a painted board or utensil in

Japan. The priests we saw were cleanly dressed, too, and one took pains to show us all over his domicile. Many prayer-books were observed in one of them, and their general furniture mostly resembled Buddhist establishments in Canton.

Friday, April 21st.—The Commodore went ashore to-day with a small party to return the visit of the prefect, and was conducted to the 順法寺, Law-loving Monastery, until he could be informed of our arrival. The Japanese officials said we had come off earlier than had been mentioned, though they themselves had reached the "Powhatan" some time before we left it, bringing a lot of provisions for us. At the temple we were received as civilly as the place afforded means, and when Kaheyōye appeared he did all he could to entertain us, among other things sending out to let the people come into the precincts. About five hundred or more persons came crowding around, fully one half of whom were women and girls, a few of whom were good looking. I do not think that Japanese features are as agreeable, when one sees hundreds of faces thus spread out before the gaze, as Chinese; the women's dress is not more graceful than the Chinese, and exposes the bosom more when the uncouth great girdle is loose and the dress has been disordered. How many of these females were proper ones could not be known, but I rather think curiosity had drawn everybody out of doors to see us, and no restraint is put on their going out and in. Three or four of the better dressed, with their full proportion of girdle, more than a foot wide, and a knot behind that looked like a knapsack, and the hair done up neatly with a bow knot flat on the top of the head, were brought into the room, and they poured out a cup of saki for each. The discolored teeth of the oldest became more repulsive the nearer one could see them.

On leaving this place, we visited some other temples and walked around through several streets back to the boats, a large crowd of quiet spectators everywhere attending us with the utmost order. One or two of the women most noticed at the

temple contrived to put themselves at several corners on our way in order to attract more attention.

Saturday, April 22nd.—General permission was given this morning to the officers of the squadron to go ashore, two and one-third months since arriving in these waters. A large number went ashore during the day, some of them taking long stretches and arduous ascents, which tired out the officials who were uselessly appointed to accompany us. The design of the Japanese authorities seems to be to watch us so carefully that no native shall supply us unauthorizedly with the least article until the punishment of a few offenders shall deter all from violations of these restrictive prohibitions.

Dr. Morrow and I started for flowers and whatever else we could collect, taking the northerly valley from the town, and attended by four or five satellites, the chief one a well behaved man from Uraga, who had been at Yokohama, called Nakada Kadaiyu. The people thronged the streets as they did yesterday, but did not follow us. In one shop we induced a woman to resume her weaving. She sat on a stool and, tying the woven end of the web around her body by means of a string passing from the end of the beam, she fastened one treadle to her foot, the other being secured to the floor; the loom was also made tight to the ceiling or the wall (I forget which) so that she should not pull it over. The shuttle was about fifteen inches long, sharp on one edge, and was used for both shuttle to deliver the thread through and a sley to set it home, the thin edge being forced down upon the thread. The foot was drawn up under the other leg to alternate the threads and make the web, which was of blue cotton fifteen inches wide. The rudeness of this loom was doubtless owing to the poverty of the weaver, for better ones would be required to make the silks we have seen worn by officers.

A little further on, a blacksmith's shop presented a similar rude assortment of machinery; the anvil, forge, bellows and other things were so much like the Chinese as to excite surprise,

for I should have thought some improvement would have been made. The men willingly showed us as much as we wished to see, and handled their tools like workmen.

Going out from the town, we reached rice fields, now beginning to be turned over by the hoe, and took the chief road leading to the end of the valley. The waysides were covered with a carpet of little flowering plants, exhibiting a most beautiful variety of colors, and so abundant as to change the dun color of the ground as the eye glanced over it. A high stone gate-way on the top of a stone-walled plinth formed the entrance to a temple on the top of the adjacent hill, nearly half a mile off, and concealed in the woods; the hill was fancied to resemble Fusi, and the god was named Fusi Shengen Daibosats. If adoration paid at this gateway served the same as going to the top of the hill, the contrivance was a good one, however much against our notions of architectural unity. The village of Hongoü, of a hundred houses, was beyond this gateway, where the headman came out to meet us and showed us his house, well built and having stone basement walls. Here wayside idols and pillars with Nammo Amida Bosats carved on them showed, as they had everywhere else, the prevalence of idolatry. A bowl containing young ferns in soak, called *warabi*, for food stood near by the pillar. The pretty stream of Inedza-gawa ran through the village, the banks lined with shrubbery and showing many marks of freshets here and there.

The walk was very pleasant, and we rapidly filled our book. The officer in attendance was sociable, and the people were not driven off; but to see one's fellowmen ordered about like dogs, their curiosity thwarted and convenience disregarded as if no more consequence than a spaniel's, humbles the race in one's own eyes, and imparts a feeling of reproach as belonging to the same race, from merely beholding this outrage on the dignity of man. A people that will tamely submit to it must have been schooled a long time by their rulers and given up at last in despair.

Monday, April 24th.—Mr. Bent went ashore betimes this morning to see the prefect. One of the objects of the visit was to advise him to issue orders that the officers of the squadron be not followed by Japanese officials in their rambles through the country, nor have the people shut their houses up and run when foreigners came in sight. The prefect replied that he had left Yokohama so long before the Treaty was signed as to be unaware of the views of the commissioners respecting the attendance of officials when the Americans went into the villages, and he must report for instructions; at Yokohama it had been done, but he, himself, having much confidence in us, was inclined to try how it would work, for it was a serious burden on the officials under him to accompany us here and there. As to people running or staying when they saw us, it was a matter he could not control altogether, but he would issue commands to let them know they had nothing to fear from the foreigners, but were to report any misdemeanors. Another point was to procure a junk for the accommodation of a party to visit Ohosima and examine the volcano; and also to get three or four rooms in town for the convenience of the officers. The rooms in the temple of 順法山 at the back of the town were visited after the interview was over, and made an offer of by the priests, somewhat to their inconvenience, I guess, judging by their looks. The disposition to accede to our requests on the part of these officers augurs well to pleasant intercourse. They seem to be more particular respecting trade than anything else.

After this, a party of us started to follow up the valley south of the town, and took a course along the beach for a while, and then struck across the hills till we reached a place called Nabeta in a secluded dell, where not much of this world's riches or ambition have yet come, and the inmates of its seven houses proved that no great amount of its cotton fabrics had reached them. The valley was soon to be turned into a huge rice field, and one man was ploughing with a simple plough made of a beam with a crooked handle to sustain and guide a

share shaped like a big spoon, which turned over the earth five inches with much effect. It was not so effective, however, as the deep hoeing of two or three lads with the ploughman, whose three-pronged dung-rakes turned over the wet land very easily.

A short walk carried us to Okagata, a hamlet of about sixty houses, beyond which was a large temple inclosed in almost a complete solitude, where contemplative Buddhists might drone away their lives in total listlessness. It was called Shio-riu zan 小走山, the temple Soöto yin. Buddhism must have a deep hold upon the minds of the Japanese to induce them to erect such structures in wilds like this, so far from the abodes of men. The five priests living here keep the houses and grounds in clean condition; one of their acolytes was only four or five years old. Near the place, as we left it, a wayside god, called Doöso-jin, attracted our notice from his holding a sceptre in his crossed hand, and his head being covered with a sort of crown, from which a broad cape descended to cover his back and shoulders. Many of these terminalia offer curious subjects of speculation.

From this, a rugged mountain path led us over to the valley north of Simoda to the village of Hongo, where we met many officers walking, and joined them. This valley is incontestably the most beautiful in this vicinity.

Tuesday, April 25th.—Two Japanese came aboard last night to get a passage to the United States in our ships, but the Commodore declined to receive them, unless they had previous permission from their own rulers to do so. They had previously sent a well written letter intimating their desire to go and willingness to do anything on board. This letter was to the following purport: "Two scholars of Yedo in Japan, named Isagi Koöda, 市木公太, and Kwanouchi Manji, 瓜中萬二,*

* The assumed name of Yoshida Torajiro (or Shoin), the hero of Robert Louis Stevenson's paper under that name in his "Familiar Studies of Men and Books." The incident is narrated in the Narrative of the Expedition, where Dr. Williams' translations of the letters appear to have been submitted to the hand of an editor, and in Spalding's "Japan Expedition," p. 276.

present this letter to the high officers and others who manage affairs. That which we have received is meagre and trifling, as our persons are insignificant, so that we are ashamed to come before distinguished persons ; we are ignorant of arms and their uses in battle, nor do we know the rules of strategy and discipline ; we have, indeed, uselessly whiled away our months and years, and know nothing. We have heard a little of the customs and knowledge of the Europeans and Americans, and have desired to travel about in the five great continents, but the maritime prohibitions of our country are exceedingly strict, and for foreigners to enter the 'inner land,' or for natives to go to other countries, are alike among the immutable regulations. Therefore our desire to travel has been checked, and could only go to and fro in our breasts, unable to be uttered, and our feet hampered so as not to stir. This had been the case for years, when happily the arrival of so many of your ships anchoring in our waters now for many days, and our careful and continuous examination of the kind and humane conduct of your officers and their love of others, has excited the desire of years which now struggles for its exit. We have decided on a plan, which is very privately to request you to take us aboard of your ships and secretly carry us to sea, that we may travel over the five continents, even if it is disregarding our laws. We hope you will not regard our humble request with disgust, but will enable us to carry it out ; whatever we are able to do to serve you will be considered as orders as soon as we hear it. When a lame man sees another walking, or a pedestrian sees another riding, would he not be glad to be in his place? How much more now, since for our whole lives we could not go beyond 30 degrees east and west, and 25 degrees from north to south, when we behold you come riding on the high winds and careering over the vast waves, with lightning speed coasting along the five continents, does it appear as if the lame had a way to walk, or the walkers an opportunity to ride! We hope you who manage this business will condescend to regard and grant our

request; but, as the restrictions of our country are not yet removed, if this matter becomes known, we shall have no place to flee, and doubtless must suffer the extremest penalty; and this would greatly grieve your kindness and benevolence of heart to your fellowmen. We trust to have our request granted, and also that you will secrete us until you sail, so as to avoid all risk of danger to life; and when we return here at a future day, we are sure that what has passed will not be very closely investigated. Though rude and unpracticed in speech, our desires are earnest, and we hope that you will regard us in compassion, nor doubt or oppose our request. April 10th."

Inclosed was this note: "The inclosed letter contains the earnest request we have had for many days, and which we tried many plans to get off to you at Yokohama in a fishing boat by night, but the cruisers were too thick, and none others were allowed to come alongside, so that we were in great uncertainty what to do. Learning that the ships were coming here we have come to wait, intending to seize a punt to come to the ship, but have not succeeded. Trusting that your honors will consent, to-morrow night after people are quiet we will be at Kakisaki in a punt at a place where there are no houses near the beach; we sincerely wish to have you come to the spot to meet us, and thus carry out our hopes to their fruition. April 25th."

They came up the ladder by the help of the quartermaster, but unluckily their punt slipped away, as they left it, and drifted off. The Commodore was told their errand and about the above letter, but he could not take them without violating the spirit of the Treaty. It was a severe disappointment to them, but I told them that other ships would come here in which they might get off, and that they must not be oversorry at this refusal. They were put ashore in a boat and directly to leeward in order if possible to get their own, but it was too dark to see it. They were more ordinary looking men than I had expected to see, but evidently men of education, twenty-three and twenty-five years old—neither parents or children to keep them in Japan

—and were probably just what they said they were, eagerly wishing to go to the United States, though some said they were thieves, others spies sent by the officers to see how far we would keep the Treaty, and others that they were refugees from justice. I am afraid the loss of the punt containing their swords, etc., will involve them in trouble; it was picked up by one of the cruisers in the harbor, and some officials came aboard to inquire about it, but of course we told them nothing.

Mr. Pegram and Mr. Jones went with us to-day to Susaki, a town of two hundred and thirty houses, situated near the beach just outside of the harbor, and offering nothing of interest; much stone and firewood were lying along the beach to export, some of the former glistening in the sun from the quantity of crystals of pyrites in it. A short walk, during which Mr. Jones returned on board, brought us to Soto-ura, a miserable hamlet of thirty or forty houses, the inmates of which received us pleasantly. Beyond this was a quarry where large blocks of bluish amygdaloid were slid down the hills on a tram road; this rock would make a fine article of export to California for building. Going on to Shirahama, we tarried awhile in a temple, the walls of which were nearly covered with paintings of various sorts, all labeled 奉納, and showing the low state of the fine arts, if nothing else. The officials were, apparently, glad of a chance to do something in this village, for they made many efforts to keep everybody away from us, and accompanied us over the hills to Hongo. The walk was a pleasant one, and afforded more chances for picking up new words than new flowers. It was amusing to see the women skulking under the banks to get out of our way, and still desirous of getting a look at the dreadful men.

Friday, April 28th.—The rate at which it is arranged that our coin shall be taken renders the price of all articles which are procured more than double what they are usually sold at. The Commodore has agreed upon 1200 cash as the worth of a dollar, while the people pay nearly 3000 as the equivalent of the

same weight in silver; when, therefore, we buy articles in the shops for silver the people reckon the money at their valuation of cash, but when, according to the arrangement, the shopman takes them to the guardhouse where the official comprador has his office, the other rate of exchange is adopted, and cheating is supposed to be extensively carried on, while in fact much of it is owing to this unequal valuation of the dollar. The complaints of the men who buy with silver are loud, while those who take cash ashore have no complaints to make, because they have already paid their discount on board. Articles of fine workmanship are few here, but the best are rapidly sold, and if the officials only took a moderate percentage on them I would let the shopmen have the profit of the exchange for a while, until a juster valuation was made out.

Saturday, April 29th.—Dr. Morrow made a small collection of algæ and soft corals to-day along the beach; the existence of the latter in this latitude shows the warmth of the seas. An excursion was made by the surveyors to the rocky islets off the mouth of the harbor, which were found to be much greater protection to it from a south and southeast swell than had been supposed. This harbor survey is now nearly finished, and the two sunken rocks in it are to be signalized by buoys, in doing which the Japanese claim the duty of bearing a part of the expense. This proposition on their part shows a higher sense of care and protection for shipping than we had given them credit for, and more than the Chinese have ever exhibited; the same desire to improve will soon do away with the restrictions which now impede the natural extension of their commerce. How much, too, can be hoped from the introduction of true knowledge and religion, which I can hardly doubt are in some way to be brought among them.

In going about among the shops, I found that the household was almost always under the same roof, and the female part of it had something to say respecting traffic. In most shops the goods are kept in drawers when they can be, and only

coarse crockery, grain, bamboo-ware, and other coarse, cheap articles, were seen. There is no counter, but the two parties sit on the same mat to trade, and few precautions are apparently taken against theft. No money changers line the streets as in Canton, nor do we see anything hawked through the streets; a few peddlers are met in our rambles, but there is much less of such trade than in China, and not nearly such an air of industry and bustle. Only one school has been found, and the boys who throng around us are seldom able to read, so far as I can ascertain. In respect to slovenly habits, they and Chinese lads of the same class are about the same, while both sexes, old and young, are, if anything, more degraded in respect to morals; the dress of this people is far more exceptionable and less modest than the Chinese.

Sunday, April 30th.—In consequence of a threatening squall there was no service on board this or the other ships, and the day was quietly spent. Large numbers of officers and men went to Simoda where trading was briskly carried on, as if the obligations of a Sabbath had no stringency here, and there was no need of observing it. If officers ever set an example of regard for a Sabbath the effect would be better than the promulgation of any law.

Monday, May 1st.—Before going out of town, we went into a few shops, in most of which we found nothing worth buying or hardly worth looking at. The common ware is very much like that used by the Chinese, nor do the shapes of the dishes differ very much from those seen in China, the same customs inducing the same forms. The common lacquered cups and trays at meals present nothing unusual in style or excellent in workmanship. In one shop a good-natured pair showed us most of their wares, sold us a lot of raw hemp and a box, and exchanged eight large cash for the same worth of Chinese coin. The tidy daughter was standing by, a good comment on the housewifery, to whom I gave a picture book I had, much to the joy of the mother. We saw nothing worth

notice until we had reached the village of Nakanozhe, where we wished to inquire what direction to take for the paper tree, but no one would show us or go with us. However, we got a sight of a rice-hulling mill, and were talking with the owner, when a woman came running up and began to tell me she was the shopkeeper's wife of whom we had bought the flax and box, and had been ordered by the officers to get back the large cash she let me have and give up the picture book too. She had run a mile to overtake us, and begged me to let her go back to Simoda with the eight cash, holding up the string I had given her; of course, she could not be refused, but this exhibition of littleness on the part of the Japanese officials shows the character of their espionage and oppression. I could not learn why she had told them of the transaction at all.

Going up over the hills beyond the village of Rendai-zhi, the boys showed us the paper-tree just in time to find flowers and fruit on it. We saw the tools for beating the pulp out and jars for holding it, and molds, with a heap of the fresh paper, some wet and some drying on boards in the sun.

The people received us kindly in all the hamlets far up the valley over the hill, and we stopped at a bridge where the Inodza River was about a good leap across, being pleasantly told by a peddler that there was nothing at all beyond, not the least thing, and the day was far spent. It was one of the best rambles I have had, the people accompanying us along the path asking us for cash, for autographs, or for information, in the most courteous manner.

Tuesday, May 2nd.—The "Macedonian" came in from the Bonin Islands this evening, having been three days in returning from Port Lloyd, where she left an anchor and brought threescore turtles—all there were to be had. The population has decreased since last year, and the United States consul left there by Perry has gone off in search of better quarters, making thereby a good move. All the stock left there has disappeared, nor have the seeds come to maturity, and, except

the turtles and potatoes brought away, there is little new or interesting added to our present stock of information or stores.

In a small cove near the village of Oöura, where we went to collect seaweed, we found traprock in regular pentagonal basalt, the columns divided from each other distinctly, dipping about 80° S. The rock was not coarse grained, nor was it very hard, many perforations being seen in the base made by shell fish. In another place, the trap was very coarse, full of cells, and resembling scoria.

Wednesday, May 3rd.—Our walk to-day led us by a small plat of the Bignonia tomentosa, or *kiri* of the Japanese, which they cultivate for its oil to use in varnishes, mixing it with the juice of the varnish tree. Several patches of the tree have been seen at various times in our rambles. Near the town we passed a small shrine or *mia* dedicated to Shio-ichi-inari-dai-mio-jin, which possessed nothing of interest except two doorway guardians of foxes, carved in a passable manner, with very bushy tails. The shrine itself is on the hilltop, reached by a flight of stairs and, as usual, surrounded by trees, recalling to mind the idolatry of the old Jews among their groves and under every green tree. Why these demigods are enshrined in hilltops is not very clear, unless the people choose pleasant places for themselves in worshipping dumb images. The next thing of interest to-day was a visit to a schoolhouse in a temple, where fourteen low writing tables were spread about the room, high enough to write on when sitting on the floor. The boys come at eight o'clock and go home at eleven o'clock; the afternoon session is from twelve to four P.M. In all about fifty boys come, and the teacher receives presents from his pupils as they please. In the room stood a gigantic image of Buddha, with the past and future Buddhas at each side; all were of copper, the largest about twenty feet high, the others nearly man's size, all in a sitting posture. No priests lived here. There are five other schools in Simoda for boys, where they learn writing, keeping

of accounts, and different styles of epistolary composition. Two others have been met out of town.

Thursday, May 4th.—The "Lexington" left the harbor this day for Lewchew, where she is to remain until the rest of the fleet joins her. It rained most of the morning, and after dinner I went ashore to see the prefect respecting letters of introduction to be sent to Hakodade by the three ships which the Commodore sends ahead of the flagship. The necessity of doing all that the time allowed in supplying the bazaar was also urged, and of taking off the restrictions which impeded the free intercourse, to which he gave partial assent. The power exercised over the mass of people by their officers must require a large force to uphold it, or else the fear produced by this system of espionage renders each individual so isolated and conscious that he has no alternative but entire submission, that the police is less than would be necessary in any other country. What requires a powerful army in Austria is done in Japan by rendering every person isolated, and thus accessible by a single order backed by only the messenger who takes it. Yet the introduction of free opinions here would soon show the rulers the need of changing their policy, and perhaps a revolution would gradually be made by the diffusion of such sentiments among all classes without a convulsion.

Saturday, May 6th.—One of the men fell from the foretopsail yard about noon yesterday and was so dreadfully bruised that he died about sunset, having his reason to the last, for in his fall his head was untouched. This morning the officials came off to inquire respecting the casualty, and our wishes in respect to the funeral and burial. Mr. Portman and I accompanied them ashore after breakfast, and they stated the matter to the prefect, who said that at present only temporary arrangements could be made for a burial ground, and he must await the arrival of the commissioners before definitively setting apart a spot of ground for a foreign cemetery. He and the others decided on burying the body at Kakizaki, and a place

was cleared in the cemetery attached to the Yoku-zhen zhi 玉泉寺 in that village, and the funeral took place about five P.M., the whole population being present to see the ceremonies. At the same time the Commodore was entertaining the townsfolk at Simoda with the band. The tombs and inscriptions in this cemetery were different in many respects from those at Simoda, though on the whole alike. On many of the epitaphs the phrases, "returned to the original," 歸元, "returned" or "joined to the company," 同會, "gathered to the original," 皈元, "annihilated" or "absorbed," 空, were inscribed instead of the exclamation "Wonderful Buddha!" The words 信士, "believing scholar," and 信女, "believing woman," were joined to the name followed by the word 座, "seat;" some epitaphs had a space left for the wife's name to be added, and many gave the names of the children as well as parents, all on one face of the stone. The grove of pines on the hill renders the spot a sheltered one, and it is a more desirable place than one in Simoda. Here, surrounded by Japanese, lies the body of poor Parish who had run away from his parents in Hebron, Connecticut, and had given them no notice of his course since, an instructive commentary on the rashness of disobedience to parents.

Sunday, May 7th.—Rev. Mr. Jones gave a discourse on the casualty and warning Providence just fresh in our minds, which was calculated to do good, and I hope will be blessed to some of the man's mates. The Commodore heard last evening that the two men who had come off to the ship on the 25th ult. were caged on shore. Mr. Bent and I went to see them this morning, but were too late, as they had been taken off to Yedo at daylight. The keeper of the house told us they were imprisoned for going aboard our vessels, and had been detained here until orders were received from Yedo, but I learned nothing as to the probable punishment they are likely to receive, though I fear the worst. The cage was about six feet long by three wide and four and a half high, quite large enough to sit

and sleep in, and entered by crawling through a low door ; it is probably just such a cage as McCoy and his fellows were at last shut up in. It seems that criminals are not examined in Simoda, but are sent to Niraiyama, a town about twenty *ri* north, where Tarozaiyemon, the deputy of Toda, the prince of Idzu, lives, and judges them. The present case, however, did not come under his jurisdiction.

Monday, March 8th.—Mr. Pegram accompanied us up the valley beyond Eenday-zhi, in which we met many well disposed people and some new plants. The farmers were preparing their rice plats for sowing the grain, and laid a layer of dock and other soft leaves on the watery mesh which was so soft that it was easily trodden beneath the surface by a man walking over it with a pair of snowshoes, which he held upon his feet by means of a string passing round the forepart, his feet bearing down on the back. This subsoil would soon be decomposed and furnish support to the growing shoots whose roots would thus be more easily lifted. It was a singular operation to see the naked fellows dabbling about in the mud and preparing these plats. Many sick persons applied to us to day for relief, and we could only ask them to come aboard ship, which I am afraid none of them will be allowed to do. One was a case of bronchitis, one of rheumatism, and several ophthalmic cases as well as other diseases of a minor kind. I told the people I thought many of their ailments of the eye were ascribable to the custom of shaving the eyebrows of the women, and that to keep them clean would be one way of curing them. A physician would find a large field for his efforts among the Japanese, but I doubt his being allowed to practice.

A pictorial representation of our squadron and description annexed, and an account of the war between England and China, were seen to-day by officers, but neither of them could be purchased ; the authorities are so whimsical in their conduct that it is impossible to follow them or account for the orders by the actions of the people. A lot of ginseng was

bargained for at 160 cash, but Tatsnoske would not let it go for $3.40.

Tuesday, May 9th.—Three of the officers went on a hunting excursion yesterday, and managed to kill one live pheasant, shoot off a tail feather from another and buy a dead fox, for which they had a tramp of twenty-five or thirty miles. Getting back to Simoda about nine P.M., they concluded to remain ashore all night, but, though the priests were willing enough, the officials and interpreter were not, and came in to order the party to go off to the ship, using violent language and behaving in a most impertinent manner, besides calling in a guard of soldiers and having lamps placed in the room. Every effort was made to appease them, but unsuccessfully until one of the sailors was told to get out the arms, whereupon the men and the lantern bearers soon vanished, their superiors having gone before. The guard remained outside of the room all night, and at dawn the officers came aboard. The whole transaction was so impudent that notice was taken of it as soon as it was convenient, and Mr. Bent with Nicholson and Tansell were sent in uniform to report to the prefect. Tatsnoske was half drunk last night, and it required some sharpness to make him speak out to his superior, who at first wished to shift the matter to the commissioners and to inculpate us as also having done wrong in stopping ashore, as having violated the Treaty, and also as having mistaken their design in placing a guard. However, the might being on our side, the right was too, and by a threat of going to Yedo an apology was drawn from the prefect with a promise that such usage would not be repeated, and the officers might stop ashore whenever they pleased all night. In truth, the insolence of the officials was the principal point to be checked, and they will soon learn we are not going to be treated slightingly with impunity.

Of all heathen nations I have ever heard described, I think this is the most lewd. Modesty, judging from what we see, might be said to be unknown, for the women make no attempt

to hide the bosom, and every step shows the leg above the knee; while the men generally go with the merest bit of rag, and that not always carefully put on. Naked men and women have both been seen in the streets, and uniformly resort to the same bath house, regardless of all decency. Lewd motions, pictures and talk seem to be the common expression of the viler acts and thoughts of the people, and this to such a degree as to disgust everybody. Alas for the condition and excellence of a simple, heathen people, dreamed of by moralists who never saw what they prate of!

Thursday, May 11th.—Yesterday a driving storm of rain kept everybody on board ship, and not till this afternoon could we easily go ashore. I saw to-day a board obtained from the two imprisoned men which seems to have been written for our inspection, though the language is guarded, and would be almost inexplicable without knowing the circumstances:—

> "When a hero fails in his designs, his conduct is then regarded like that of a thief or outlaw; (we have been) seized publicly and then guarded, darkly imprisoned (here) for many days, treated roughly and proudly by the village elder and headmen, whose harshness is very great. Yet we can look up without reproaching ourselves, and it can now be seen whether a hero will act like one.
>
> "Since a journey through the sixty countries (Japan) was not enough to satisfy our desires, to travel in the five great continents was once our hearts' desire; but suddenly we missed our aim and are now fallen into a half-sized house, where eating, sleeping, resting, sitting, are all difficult, and escape impossible. If we weep, we appear like fools; if we smile, we are deemed to be rogues. Alas! silent we must rest."

No clue will probably be obtained to their fate while we are here.

Friday, May 12th.—Everybody who could leave the ships

went ashore this morning to buy or settle for things they wished, and to take a final walk through the town. I went a way through the valley with Mr. Pegram and Lanier, and enjoyed the ramble as well as found some new plants. On board many hundreds of dollars were paid to the official for the supplies furnished, which at the high rate of exchange left them an enormous profit, as much as three hundred per cent in some cases. This unfair mode of trade doubtless will henceforth be changed by making our coins worth more cash.

Wednesday, May 17th.—Hakodade Bay.

The two steamers left Simoda early on the 13th and had a very pleasant trip to this port. A shoal, supposed to be coral from the examination of the lead, was passed near Cape Blanc, and so alarmed the Commodore that we saw nothing more of the coast till near Cape Sambu, and then again Cape Nord-Est, and the entrance of the straits. A strong current or tide was with us up the coast, and coming into the entrance of the straits, it turned against us so strong that it was only to be stemmed by steamers. The well-defined shores of the entrance render it easy to make the ship's position as soon as the fog or mist allows the captain to see his headlands.

The boats from the three ships were soon alongside to show the steamers to their berths, and as the harbor opened to view everyone was surprised at its security and spaciousness, and the easy access to it. The town lies on the eastern side of the harbor, twenty-five *ri* east of Matsmai, and is reported to contain a thousand houses, some of which appear like ware-houses for size, as seen from the ship, and all show better from their position on the slope of the hill than Simoda. The hill rises behind the mass of the dwellings, protecting it on the east, but the land slopes down to a plain on the north of the town and bay, stretching away miles to the base of some high ridges whose tops are now covered with snow. To the east stretched a low, long point, defining the western side of the harbor, backed by high land. The snow on these and the hills beyond

the straits gave a wintry aspect to the scenery, quite invigorating to us who had just left the warm valleys of Simoda.

At noon a party of officials came aboard with whom Mr. Bent and I went to the "Macedonian," where we gave them the letter for the authorities here, which had been written by the commissioners at Yokohama. The bunyo, called Kudoö Mogoro, had been much terrified by the arrival of the three ships and, in the absence of Namura and Kenzhiro (who had not yet reached the place with instructions) he was utterly at a loss how to act and had refused to see Captain Abbott, though wood and water had been supplied to him. Our explanations and a perusal of the Treaty illuminated their minds more to the purpose, and they seemed gratified at the prospect of intercourse, a meeting being appointed on the morrow on shore to see the bunyo. No tidings of the Treaty had reached them, and a journey of thirty days was necessary to come here from Yedo, prolonged or shortened at times according to the season; of course a trip of only four days surprised them a little.

Thursday, May 18th.—Four or five of us went ashore this morning and were received in some state at a sort of public reception room on the beach, the entrance to which was by steps up a stone sea-wall into a yard secluded from sight in the boat by a guard house. The path across this yard was laid with mats, and a guard of a dozen stood, in order to do honor to our entrance into the hall, dressed in blue leggings, swords and ceremonial jackets. The officials who received us were the four whom we saw yesterday, and they politely asked us to be seated on square forms covered with red felt, handing tea, pipes, etc. The room was matted, two sides were partitioned off by screens, and one side was apparently made with closets in the wainscot, as recesses in it were two feet deep; the ceiling was eight or nine feet from the floor and formed the floor of a loft. In the yard were a few dwarf pines and a pretty bronze water jar, a finer piece of such work than I had before seen. After our names and titles were all taken the three officers came in,

and our conference began. The various advantages of trade, houses on shore, liberty to ramble about, and whatever had been allowed us at Simoda, were all recapitulated, and the same demanded of the officers here in compliance with the provisions of the Treaty. The non-arrival of the envoys from Yedo had prevented them from ascertaining the views of the Court, and they wished for time to consider upon our demands and representations, to which we assented till nine o'clock to-morrow morning, leaving all the papers with them, except one in which they referred to the stringency of their prohibitions. The interview was rather tedious by reason of its having mostly to be written in Chinese, for I did not like to trust to talking, and after settling the hour to-morrow for an interview with the Commodore and the highest functionary here we proposed a walk, to which they willingly agreed.

Going through an alley by the side of the house, we reached the street where stood four horses saddled, on which the officials had probably ridden to the house. The street was twenty or more feet wide and partly macadamized; the dust had just been laid, and runners were sent before to lay the people too, for on both sides of the street they were kneeling in rows as we passed. The shops and houses were all shut, not so entirely on our account, it would appear, as to keep them warm, but the constant succession of papered windows made the streets look dull. The houses all had a porch towards the street, behind which rose the gable end of the roof thirty feet from the ground; the roofs were thickly strewed with cobble stones, and each ridgepole bore a bucket of water with a broom in it, which, with other buckets in the way, were preventives of fires. No women or children were seen among the crowd, which was not very large or noisy.

In our walk we went to a large temple, called the "Protecting the Country's Hill," which exhibited a finer specimen of Japanese architecture than we had before seen. The tiled roof rose rapidly fully sixty feet from the ground, and was supported

by an intricate system of girdles and posts resting on varnished pillars ; the carving and gilding was superior to anything heretofore seen, and the neatness of the hall added to its elegance, or more properly constituted it. The general arrangement resembled those formerly seen, but on the six stone guardians placed in the little shed at the entrance were as many Chinese-shaped skull caps, put on as if to keep them warm, and looking so odd as to set us a laughing. Another temple, also Buddhistic, was visited ; it was much out of repair and, like the large one, had no tablets in it. In some of the temples the images are furnished with a nimbus of copper, and one image of a female had a bambino, as if a copy of the Virgin. Our stroll took us through several streets, and we returned to the landing to go aboard, on the whole gratified with the reception. In the evening a few officers took a similar walk, in the course of which they came upon a masked battery of three guns, evidently just armed and probably commenced since the arrival of the "Macedonian." They were kindly received by officers and people both, shown into some houses, and no hindrance placed in their way to going anywhere. The town presents a better appearance than Simoda, and the robust people we see proves a healthy climate and plenty of provisions.

Friday, May 19th.—At the interview on shore this morning the bunyo handed in a long document in which replies were made to the points stated yesterday, and most of them granted ; the paper was drawn up very well, and the dilemma in which he was placed by the non-arrival of orders from Yedo stated, especially in reference to the demand we had made for three houses, which by a singular usage of the Chinese word used they had understood as meaning official residences and court. This impression was removed and evidently to his satisfaction. The other points were conceded and, after ascertaining the rank of the officer who is to visit the Commodore at noon, Matsmai Kageyu, a relative of the prince, Matsmai Idzu no kami, we went back to the ship. At the time, he and the three officers

whom we saw reached the "Mississippi" almost seasick with the motion of their shallop, and not over easy at venturing into such a place, as they now for the first time saw. I guess their first idea was, at seeing the marines drawn up on deck, that they had been entrapped, but erelong they were put at ease. A copy of the Chinese translation of the Treaty was given them, and the Japanese original handed them for perusal, after some other points were settled. After the Commodore left the Japanese remained till evening, and were amused in many ways, greatly to their instruction and quietude, so that when they left they were put wholly at their ease respecting our designs. The engine, the guns, cables, rooms, and equipment of the ship, were explained as well as they could be, and everything done to make them aware of their neighbor across the Pacific, with whom they were now to come in contact. We were all much pleased with the gentlemanly bearing and intelligence of the two chief men who were in some respects superior to most of our official friends at the South.

I was told that the Ainos have all been driven or moved to the north of Yeso, none of them living here; their number was stated at 30,000. The Japanese occupy the southern end of Karafto, or Sagalien Island, and one of the clerks present had been there some years since, glad to return from such a cold, uncivilized region. No coal is found in Yeso, and he took two pieces ashore as a muster. The principality of Mutsu, and Dewa too, on the opposite shore of Nippon furnish gold and silver; the former is a large and rich state.

Saturday, May 20th.—At the interview this morning, the inability of the prince to come here from Matsmai and the difficulty of seeing him even if the Commodore went there were expressed in the most decisive terms, while also the position of Matsmai Kageyu as his deputy, invested with as full powers as he could have to manage all affairs connected with us, was explained. If the Commodore pleases to think that all this is false, and that he can get the prince to come by ignoring the

powers of his deputy, it seems by far the best way for him to go to Matsmai as soon as he likes. The officers here are willing temporarily to allow us to trade, the stipulations of the Treaty showing them that that has been agreed to; and to-day it has been begun in a manner which must rather surprise them, and will doubtless equally please the shopkeepers as any other course of conduct. The valuation of our silver dollar, half and quarter was placed at 4800, 2400 and 1200 cash, while a comparison of our gold coins with theirs made a gold dollar worth only 1045 cash, showing that gold to silver here is only about 4.7 to 1, a most extraordinary thing, if their coins are of equal purity with ours. Copper must be very cheap, but this does not surprise us like the other. After the interview we went to three places, which were selected for the same purposes as those at Simoda, and also into two or three shops to explain the manner of trading to some officers we saw in them. The authorities seem to be pacified and now, their fears allayed, will, I think, be ready to manage things better than if Namura and his "cross-looker" had come. All this gives me considerable practice in Japanese, and I am in hopes to make the people somewhat acquainted with our character and intentions and aware that really they have nothing to fear. Some few women were seen to-day, and more children, but the people have not thought it altogether safe yet to bring their families back to town. It is unpleasant to see how they bow down when the authorities pass by, though it should be remembered that custom has made this, which appears abject to us, the natural exhibition of obeisance. In their own intercourse the officials are far more familiar than at the South, and treat us, too, very friendly. With the chief man, Yendo Matazayemon, we have become almost intimate, and with Ishizaka Kanzō and Kudoō Mugoro well acquainted; the last is called bunyo, and neither he or the other talk much. Some of the writers are affable, and among all there is a degree of respect and courteousness towards each other and us which contrasts well and favorably with the

people at the South. It is more agreeable, too, to see a well dressed crowd than such almost nude men and loosely attired women as Simoda presents. The people here are on the whole larger, I think, than there, and indeed should be, as the climate is colder. In a walk through the streets we saw many fireproof granaries or warehouses, and the precautions against fire show the fears felt. Provisions are not plenty now, salmon, skate and plaice forming most of the fish brought; crabs and clams are to be had, but not many vegetables. The Irish potato is grown here, not in season now, though we have got a few; we know not how it was introduced, but probably by means of some of the ships stopping for supplies.

Monday, May 22nd.—The Commodore and two captains went ashore this morning to return the visit of Matsmai Kageyu whom we found ready to receive us, and mild as usual. The credentials were given from his prince, empowering him to come and receive the Americans and treat them politely, but after he had shown them and made a translation into Chinese, he committed himself by declaring that he had full powers to settle everything; since the question of defining the limits was one he could not settle. We had a tedious conversation respecting it; ten *ri* was given them as a limit, but this distance would reach to the opposite shore, and therefore seven *ri* was proposed as at Simoda, but even this was beyond his powers. He evidently is a man of little energy, afraid of taking any responsibility, and yet gentle in all his refusals, as if desirous to oblige us by assenting. In an hour and over the Commodore became tired with the slow progress, and gave him till evening for an answer, moving at the same time to go on a walk over the town. We went to two or three temples and through the streets which were quite bare of people, and most of the shops shut. Two or three negroes were standing near a shop and struck Yendo with surprise, asking several times if their faces were not painted, for he had no idea the *korumbo* were anything like them. In the evening we got the same reply that the limits could not now be

defined, and also a long paper of complaints against the conduct of Americans on shore yesterday—a heathen prince complaining of the bad conduct of Christians in his town on the Sabbath, gambling in the temples, climbing over walls to get into houses and yards, carrying off things out of the shops, and acting like madmen! Such is a decent moral man when the restraints of society are taken from off his natural heart.

Tuesday, May 23rd.—In consequence of this conplaint all officers were kept on board to-day, and the matter endeavored to be rectified by requiring of the officers, and among the petty officers, that any debts due on shore be mentioned, and all swords purchased given up, as it was said this in particular had been complained of. A lot of presents for the prince of Matsmai, his deputy and the three local officers were taken ashore, and an answer given verbally to the complaint this morning. It is probable that these officers were alarmed at the rush on shore and, knowing their own dangerous responsibility if anything disastrous should happen, they made the most of the ill conduct which disgraced a few to keep all away. Investigation was demanded, and offers made to return what had not been paid for, or pay all demands. It will doubtless be remembered by the officials and people too, and time only can efface the bad impression now made. In the afternoon the Commodore came ashore and took a quantity of articles which had been brought there for his inspection, none of which were very fine, though presenting a considerable variety. The old patterns of silk and cottons are as curious as anything offered.

Wednesday, May 24th.—An effort was made to bring together a number of things for the officers, and by three o'clock Mr. Bent and I managed to induce the collector to get a broker to bring in a tolerable variety of articles, not nearly so many as we wished, but still measurably gratifying to the purchasers, and in the same degree satisfactory to me, as I was afraid I should not at all satisfy or please. In the morning Yendo and Ishizuka Kanzo had their portraits taken, and they were hugely

pleased to see themselves on the plate with their retainers behind them holding spears, caps, and bearing their distinctive coat of arms. No one here had ever heard of the art, and curiosity, wonder and delight were about equally exhibited in their manner and questions. The day was good and the result pleasing to everybody.

An answer was returned this morning to the long representation made upon the ill conduct of some from our ships, in which Perry declared that seven *ri*, or sixteen miles, must be also considered as the limit within which Americans might ramble. I think no more trouble will now arise, as the mode of conducting the bazaar seems to give general satisfaction to all parties.

Thursday, May 25th.—The shopkeepers in the street, finding that their customers are all going to the fair, have begun to try to better themselves, and to invite customers into their shops, in order that the government broker may not get all the profits; this competition will of course improve the market, and call out the goods from their hiding places, and, if it does not again produce trouble, will be an improvement. The goods were much more numerous to-day (though some sorts of lackered ware were not to be had) and more people were satisfied; the variety of fabrics was greater, and some pains had been taken to collect a good stock. The seller had a paper before him with the various coins offered all drawn as accurately as he could make them, and placed each one on the drawing to see if the size corresponded, and then compared the effigies.

We paid a visit to Yendo to arrange about burying a man in the place who had died on board the "Vandalia" last evening; he acceded willingly, and soon after went to one temple near by, but no suitable vacant space could be found in its compound. This temple was the Koriō zhi, 高龍寺, or High Dragon temple, so called probably from the carvings over the doorway of two scrambling dragons. Not succeeding here, we went out of town through the seaside gate, and about half a

mile out came to an old graveyard in which a small plat was set apart for the use of Americans. The place is in full view of the harbor and will contain twenty-five persons, allowing each room for a tombstone.

There are four large Buddhist temples in the town, each of which exhibits the religious zeal of the people in its carvings, gilding, and numerous fine sculptures. The Zhiogen zhi, 淨玄寺, is by far the most elaborate; the Zhetsu-gio zhi, 實行寺, where Brown takes daguerreotypes is well kept, but ancient and inferior; the graveyard near it is an interesting place, full of grotesque and handsome monuments, most of them well carved; the long poles, covered with prayers, standing near them, or lying down, give a singular aspect to the yard. The fourth, the Shio-mio zhi, 彌名寺, is old and possesses little interest. In addition to these there are three large Shinto temples, the Shimmei, 神名, the Hachi-man, 八幡, and the Penten, 辨天, but judging from the second-named and largest, less attention is paid them than to the Buddhist. If there are seven temples, there are also seven schools and girls are taught in them, but I can get no clear idea of what is studied. It must be vacation in all of them since we came, judging by the small number of children seen in the streets. Most of the dwellings and other houses here are built of boards standing up and made secure by long girders running along outside.

Friday, May 26th.—The remains of the sailor were buried this morning, and I was able to find only a small stone on which to inscribe the epitaph, for all the square, handsome ones seen in the graveyards were, I was told, brought from Sado Island and other places in Nippon. The body was brought ashore at the landing and carried by sailors through the streets to the spot designated, numbers of the people lining the roads, all in the greatest quiet looking at the unusual procession which Yendo himself accompanied to the grave. In all these interments the Japanese officers have behaved with great decorum, but his kindness of manner has exceeded the others, and no law

was quoted by him about looking at the corpse, as was the case with the impudent Isaboro at Simoda.

I spent most of the day endeavoring to get up a bazaar for the Commodore, but did not succeed very well, as in fact the assortment is pretty well exhausted in town. There were some new things, many of which exhibited new features of Japanese art, and many were there desirous to get the articles as soon as the Commodore had made a selection. Owing to a misunderstanding, he did not reach shore till almost sunset and found several officers there (happily most having gone just before) to whom he expressed some dissatisfaction. He took some articles and went off, whereupon such a grabbing for this and that ensued as was quite surprising to me, and not creditable to naval officers. I was called here and there by natives and foreigners at once, unable to answer half their demands, much less get aught even if I had wished it. I was ashamed at such an exhibition of American character in the eyes of the Japanese officers looking at the eagerness and bustle before them.

Saturday, May 27th.—The broker who attends at the bazaar was told this morning that he might sell such articles as he had whenever he brought them there, and manage their sale as he pleased; everybody has had a chance already, and I am desirous of getting clear of the affair. It seems, from the conduct of the shopkeepers, that this broker has taken some means to intimidate them or to prevent them selling much, for it is difficult to get many fine things to-day, and their prices generally are very much higher, which is no wonder, considering the great eagerness manifested to purchase. Not having any particular business, Morrow and I took a stroll, going out beyond the graveyard, and so on to the end of the peninsula on which the town lies. We enjoyed the walk very much, found many plants, and saw a few people only. Some of the plants were old acquaintances, especially a Trillium, a Viburnum, an Anemone, a Mentha and others, growing naturally in the woods among the bamboo, a small species of which is common

here. The extent and variety of seaweed here is great, and vast quantities are used for food by the people. On our return we went through the grove of pines and cedars behind the town ; a delightful place it must be in summer for the townsfolk to ramble in. The hilltop affords a fine view of the surrounding country, and the patches of snow on the western peaks showed us the latitude we were in. No terraces such as are seen at Simoda are seen here, and the plain north of the town is neglected, naked, and almost uncultivated, the pursuits of agriculture occupying only a small portion of the inhabitants. The country is not thickly settled in the immediate vicinity, and most of the supplies are brought from the south, Simonoseki, Sado Island, Yechigo, and Ohosaka being the chief ports, from which not only rice, wheat, cloths, porcelain, lacquered ware and cutlery are brought, but also common things, as gravestones and tiles. What these imports are paid for with I have not been able to learn.

The Commodore made some inquiries about shipwrecks on the coasts of Japan to-day, and at the same time invitations were given the officials to visit the ships, if the weather was fair on Monday. The more I see and am able to talk with these men the more favorably do they contrast with the same set of men at the south.

Sunday, May 28th.—Early this morning I was sent ashore to inform Yendo of the death of another seaman on board of the " Vandalia," G. W. Remick by name ; he expressed a good natured sympathy with the death of a young man so far away from home and, pointing out a new wharf to land at just above the Commodore's house, where he wished the body to be brought on shore in the afternoon, asked if he should accompany the body, to which we, Mr. Bent being with me, said that it was not required by any of our usages. In the day Mr. Jones delivered a practical discourse on the first clause of the Lord's Prayer which made one feel too that to the Japanese the same Father extends his care, and I hope will erelong too send the evangel of salvation.

Monday, May 29th.—The rest of yesterday's Sabbath was pleasant in the extreme, and I was willing to begin again this morning. I shall not be so much harassed this week as last, for now trade is carried on at the custom house without my assistance. The officers and their friends were invited aboard the flagship to visit her and then to go over the "Macedonian," and spend the evening in seeing the performances of the Ethiopian Minstrels. All came but the prince's deputy, Matsmai Kageyu, who had a bad cold, and left for shore after nine P.M. much pleased and diverted with the show and the Commodore's entertainment, which was got up remarkably well for the means and time at hand. A lot of presents were also brought at the same time in return for those sent by Perry to them, paper, umbrellas, crapes, dried salmon, fresh fish, etc., altogether worth about a rifle and a pistol; to each of them had been sent a rifle, cavalry sword, pistol, box of tea, twelve barrels whiskey, twelve pieces cottons, perfumery and cherry cordial.

Tuesday, May 30th.—This has been a quiet day, for, after seeing Yendo to stir him up about the accounts of the ships and getting the answers respecting wrecked vessels, I took a pleasant walk with Dr. Gilliam after flowers, and went back to the ship to dinner, one of the few times I have had a good opportunity. In the afternoon I had to wait so long for the accounts of the "Vandalia" and "Macedonian" that I had time only to close up a letter for Canton by the former, and send Dr. Bridgman his book and some India ink. The weather has been so cold to-day as to make a fire comfortable; the climate must be much colder here than in the same latitude in the United States where no snow can now be found on hills no higher than those hereabouts, the highest of which may perhaps be 3500 feet and not bare on the summit, so far as the glass can decide.

Wednesday, May 31st.—My commissions multiply apace, as I am requested by one and another to procure things for them on shore, most of which are not to be had. However, I was able to get some things for Maury and Maxwell to-day,

which showed at least my good intentions if I could not always succeed. An effort was made to get a block of stone here to take to Washington for the monument, which block Perry wishes to exchange for a map of that city. The "Vandalia" and "Macedonian" were out of sight before ten o'clock, leaving only a small show of two vessels in the harbor. This evening we learned that the commissioners had come from Yedo and would be ready to see the Commodore to-morrow. They have come so lately here that it is not yet time for them to learn what has been done, and it is rather too late for them to undo it. Mr. Bent and I went to the graveyard this evening, and found that a substantial fence had been put up in front of it. I got a shingle epitaph too, with a Thibetan inscription on it, and Mr. Bent procured a dog for which he had some difficulty to pay the man at the custom house; when he had been forced to take the money he went away and erelong returned with a pair of white ones which he made Mr. Bent take, and before the boat left for the ship five or six were brought down for him to carry off. The breed here is like the Chinese. Horses sell for eighteen to twenty-five dollars for common hacks and three hundred dollars or more for barbs.

Thursday, June 1st, 1854.—Six years to-day since I left New York, and now I am thus far from that city and on the journey of life.

Early this morning Fuzhiwara came aboard with a note from Amma Zhiunnoshin and Kenzhiro announcing their arrival at Hakodade, en route to Karafto whither their superior had already gone, and expressing a dèsire to meet the Commodore, and that the business in hand would not detain them more than three days. It was agreed that we should go ashore at ten to fix an hour for them and their suite to come on board. When we reached the house (Yamado) the hour of one P.M. was agreed upon, and I was left ashore while Mr. Bent went back to tell the Commodore. Meanwhile, I started off with Yebiko Zhiro to find a suitable stone for the Washington Monument, and fairly

tired him out in the search. We went to the fishing hamlet of Shirasawabi east of the town, but none suitable could be seen around it. However, I saw specimens enough to induce me to get him to go up towards the hill where the stone is quarried, but it was another thing to get him to take so long a walk. Near this village most of the gravestones were covered with mats to preserve them from the effects of the frost during the winter, and the graves had just been swept and trimmed up, it being the 5th of the 5th month yesterday. The village was noisome from the drying and decaying fish in it, and I was in a hurry to get away. Pursuing our walk for a mile in the direction of a path which led up the hill, I came to a couple of long stones of red trachyte, just dug out, and had them marked, much to the gratification of my companion who was fairly used up, or else vexed. While we were so warm with the walk in the noontide sun, the sight of the snow lying on the opposite hills was rather tantalizing.

On reaching the house at one o'clock, the officials requested us to go to the other landing, thence to take the dignitaries on board. None of the new ones reached the place, however, till three o'clock and, as they would not go off without Kenzhiro, we went away without them. It was a curious sight, as these officials were announced to be on their way to the house, to see the attendants and common people arrange themselves along the path, squatting down with caps, staffs, and other insignia in their hands, and bowing their heads to the ground under the effluence of power as it swept by them in the persons of these men. We stood near the landing, but they paid us no notice as they went into the house, Yendo escorting them.

We had waited now so long that on the way back we met an order to return, and found the Commodore in high dudgeon, which we hardly had anything to meet by way of explanation. He ordered the marines in both steamers to get in readiness, and one hundred blue jackets to land in the morning with two field pieces, in order to show the Japanese that he was not to be

trifled with. About half past four o'clock Amma, Kenzhiro and others, with the local officers and Yendo at their head, came aboard; the Dutch interpreter, Takeda Ayasaboro, had written out a few sentences stating that he was able only to write Dutch and could not speak it. He was the tallest and one of the best looking Japanese I have seen. The Commodore thought best to accept their apology, that it was owing to delay in the preparation of a present which had detained them (a good commentary on Prov. 18:16), and they were taken down into the cabin. The conference came to very little in addition to what had been before discussed with Yendo, and the final settlement of the limits to which Americans can ramble in the region of the town was referred to the commissioners. The disappearance of the women and children was ascribed to fear of us on our arrival, and this was now wearing away. The conference was slow but kindly, and the visitors from Yedo were gratified with the sight of the ship, Kenzhiro remaining in the cabin while the others went over the decks. He said the journey to Matsmai had been tedious and slow, often going only twelve miles a day, snow, cold, roughness and weariness being among the discommodities of the way. I suspect these Japanese officials endeavor to live such easy lives that when they are obliged to go through hardships they suffer much. From his white under-dress, we learned that Takeda Ayasaboro belonged to princely blood; he seemed to be often referred to by Kenzhiro who hardly ever asked Amma about anything. His position and learning probably got him the place of interpreter. Before leaving, the Commodore told them he would return their call in state as at Yokohama, a proposition which pleased them all, especially Fuzhiwara who was glad to hear that the "sorudado" were coming ashore in their fine dresses.

Friday, June 2nd.—A fog soon bedimmed the prospects of a fine day, and before ten o'clock Perry had decided not to go ashore, which seemed to be the most judicious course, as the fog seemed likely to condense into a rain. Presents of a sword,

rifle, revolver, perfumery, tea and whiskey were prepared for Anma and Kenzhiro, and an apologetic excuse to explain his non-appearance. Mr. Bent and I found the house in readiness to receive the party, and an unusual attendance of servants showed that some preparations were making for the occasion; though the Japanese apparently took it in good humor, their disappointment was evident and great. Along the street, too, were many signs of the expectations of a gala and fine show among the people. It need not be said in what a pet the Commodore and most of the officers would have been if the Japanese had excused themselves from an interview for what appeared to be such inadequate reasons; and how many denunciations we should have heard! The presents were handed to Kenzhiro, but the answer to the Commodore's note was not ready. The purveyor's bill was paid as follows for the "Powhatan":—

100 baskets charcoal	$ 5.25
100 pine boards, half inch	1.38
50 „ „ inch, 6ft. long	0.80
100 „ „ „ 20ft. „	4.67
285 lbs. sugar @ 7 cent	19.85
1350 sticks of wood	10.69
500 brooms	3.65
Total	$46.29

1000 sticks for "Southampton"	$7.92	...	15.63
976 „ „ "Mississippi"	7.71		
6733 „ „ "Macedodian"	36.52	...	54.72
1891 „ „ "Vandalia"	18.20		
Provisions furnished "Powhatan"			34.12
			$150.76

The prices of these things were repeatedly declared to be equitable and sufficient, but they were so low that the Commodore made the purveyor, Inagawa, a present of a box of tea, and the boatmen a larger one of 900 lbs. biscuit, 3 bbls. beef and pork, and 60 lbs. tea, for their labor in bringing wood and water. With this all parties were satisfied. The two blocks of

red trachyte came off in the afternoon, when a further small addition of provisions was made. Two of us went ashore to obtain the answer, for which we had to tarry till nearly sunset, when we took leave of the friends whom Mr. Bent and I had become quite attached to during the fortnight we had been in port. They also evinced very different feelings from those apparent at the first interview, and we parted with expressions of mutual goodwill. Three of the new-comers, Takeda Ayasaboro, Yushimi Kennozhio and Tsuji Kayemon, came off to the ship with us to see it more closely, and remained until it was too dark to see anything; they evinced considerable knowledge as well as curiosity, especially the first, whose acquaintance with Dutch had opened to him sources of information not accessible to the others.

Saturday, June 3rd.—Early this morning we were under weigh, but the fog came in so thick that both vessels came to anchor, and soon after a boat came alongside with Yebiko and Daishime to see why we had returned, supposing some accident had happened. They remained on board till we were ready to start, much interested in the appearance of the machinery in readiness to be put in motion. Thus ended our visit to Hakodadi, forming one of the pleasantest episodes in my life in Asia. I expected a dull visit at a miserable fishing village, while I found my time and abilities employed to their highest degree, the whole business of interpreting thrown on me, and the duty of removing from the minds of the officers their apprehensions and disinclination to act in the absence of orders from Yedo. Acquaintance produced mutual trust and, as they found themselves fully supported by the Treaty, it was soon seen that no little trouble would be avoided by meeting all our reasonable propositions. It was favorable to them that the lack of particular instructions from court left them more at liberty to follow what the Treaty implied, and it was more favorable to us that we had two such persons as Matsmai and Yendo to deal with instead of two petty minded and hesitating men like Kondo

Riozhi and Tatsnoske at Simoda. I have been repaid during the last fortnight for the years of study of this language.

Wednesday, June 7th.—Simoda Bay.

The passage hither occupied just one hundred hours, fully fifteen more than it would have done if a thick rain yesterday afternoon had not made it, in the Commodore's opinion, unwise to go to the west of Oö-sima. During the night a current carried the ship southeast and south, so that we did not anchor till nearly one o'clock ; the weather turned into bright sunshine to-day, showing the green hills, with their naked summits and patchwork of reaped and ripe fields of grain adown their sides in pretty contrast. The stimulus of rain and sunshine has made surprising improvement in the face of nature here since we left it twenty-five days ago. The commissioners are all here, one load of coal has come, and part of the supply for the bazaar. We went to see the prefect in regard to an early interview, which is to take place to-morrow.

Thursday, June 8th.—According to previous agreement, the Commodore landed to-day at noon under a salute of seventeen guns, with as large an escort as the ships could muster, composing a force of marines and sailors with four field pieces, numbering in all, including officers and musicians, upwards of three hundred men. The day was unimpeachable, and the way from the landing to the temple was lined with the people whose talking, as we moved on, was not unlike many beehives in commotion ; so that above and below all combined to make it interesting to all parties. It was very different indeed from the visit paid by the Russian embassador Resanoff * to the envoy at Nagasaki, when the people were kept away and all the streets lined with curtains to hide even the houses from the view of the Russians. The music sounded gaily as the line passed into the yard of the temple, and the whole formed an excellent subject for a painting when seen from a favorable standpoint at this moment. On entering the yard, the Commodore was received

* In October, 1804.

by Kurokawa and conducted into the main room of the building which had been so transformed and divided off by curtains and folding screens that it was not easy to recognize its former appearance—a use which shows that the Japanese apply their religious edifices to the same general uses as the Chinese. In this main room stood the five commissioners, with Hayashi at their head in scarlet trowsers, and two additional ones who have been appointed to the body. We were conducted into a side room, and the two parties seated opposite just as they were ten weeks ago at Yokohama, except that Mr. Bent had taken the place of Captain Adams. The discussion which was tedious, continued for three hours, and only a part of the subjects introduced decided on. Lin wished to put up guard stations at the limits prescribed to the rambles of Americans in the region of Simoda, but Perry wished to have it previously ascertained that they were not within the seven *ri* agreed on by the Treaty, and a deputation is to visit these spots and then report. The decision of the limits at Hakodadi was also more difficult than we had supposed it would be, for the Japanese were not ready even to make it the same there as at this place, nor to propose any distance themselves.

They wished, however, to get the Commodore to take away the big box he had placed on the southern side of the entrance to the harbor, and also to remove the buoys over the rocks. The only explanation we could give for such a proposition on their part was, that they had construed these proceedings with reference to some idea of our thereby taking possession of the harbor or, at least, driving a nail in that direction. He properly refused to remove the buoys, and suggested the appointment of pilots before the box was taken away, who could show ships the dangers it cautioned them against; and they agreed thereto. After this, the drawing of the Washington Monument was shown and the proposal made them to furnish a stone to put into it, adding that one had been procured at Hakodadi. These discussions and a collation of

cakes and fish filled up three hours, when the session was adjourned. Before leaving the temple the marines were marched and drilled, and the manner of using the field pieces shown, greatly to the satisfaction of the Japanese. The Commodore and his suite returned on board, but the men were marched down to Kakizaki, followed by a large crowd; it was a gala day to all parties except Lo, who got quarantined for not coming off when the ship's boats came back.

Friday, June 9th.—The slow progress yesterday induced the Commodore to send us ashore this morning to have a talk with Moriyama beforehand, in order to hasten matters to a conclusion, but it did not apparently have any effect, for the commissioners had their own matters to bring forward, some presents to spread out for acceptance in exchange for those received, and arrangements to agree on respecting valuation of coins and party to go and settle the limits of seven *ri*. How droll those seven bald shaven men looked stretched along in a row, as they sat opposite me to-day! Lin in his scarlet trowsers, and the silly, vacant-faced Matsusaki, one at the one end looking grim and dignified, the other at his end, sleepy and silent. These interviews are instructive, too, taking into account the circumstances under which we all have been brought together, and the Japanese officers seem qualified for their places, in the main. Some presents were given to Tsudzuki, prince of Suruga, and Takenoüchi Sheitaro, the two new commissioners—rifles, swords, perfumery, etc. Some of the articles sent in exchange for the howitzer were fine specimens of manufacture, mostly lacquered ware, and fully equal to it, taking them all together, in value. The conversation to-day was more general and pleasanter than we had before, touching on many topics. We learned that the first four commissioners are all merely titular princes, and have no authority over the principalities they take title from. Moreover, that there are over five hundred athletæ in Yedo alone, and hundreds in Ohosaka, all of whom get a living by exhibiting their prowess;

yet I think that the strongest one among the ninety we saw at Yokohama would not prove a match for some of the boxers of our country or England. They eat little or no meat, and develop more fat than brawn.

Saturday, June 10th.—Mr. Maury, Bent and I went early this morning to see Kurokawa respecting our trip to define the boundary to which Americans are permitted to go by the Treaty. We were received at the temple, and the matter seemed fully understood on all sides. After a while, Ido and Izawa sent in word they wished to see us, and soon appeared themselves, expressing their pleasure in polite terms and giving each of us a piece of silk for our wives, and four stone bottles of saki and a box of sugar-plums to beguile the wearisomeness of the way in the journey of to-day. So much for their hospitable intentions, and we went aboard to get ready for the terrible jaunt they had described. At noon we were at the landing house with attendants, instruments and baggage, but saw nobody ready there to take the latter, or signs of much preparation on the part of the few Japanese officials thereabouts. We got them to start in half an hour, however, and proceeded beyond the temple through the stone-cut gorge to a station house at the foot of the hill, where we were desired to stop, for this was one of the guard stations defining the limits of the jurisdiction of the governor of Simoda. It now appeared that there was a mutual misunderstanding, for the officers said we would now go to the next guard station, while we said we wished, and were ordered, to go to the end of the seven miles. Isaboro and Tatsnoske soon arrived and told us in no less plain terms that the commissioners had no idea of our going beyond the guard stations, and no preparations had been made to lodge us. Mr. Maury sent a note to the Commodore desiring instructions, and we went on followed by our cortege. The incident was a good illustration of the ease with which a confusion of purposes may arise where the medium of communication is so imperfect, and little pains taken to state the intentions of each side. Isaboro accused me of

misinterpreting and lying ; so Mr. Bent was addressed in a long speech in Japanese and, to make the matter plainer, Tatsnoske tried in vain to put it into English. They both returned with the Commodore's reply, by which time we had reached and passed another guard station, and seemed glad it was now cleared up, though I did not see wherein their responsibility consisted. We crossed over a number of hills into the hamlet of Hongo, where the station is to be placed, and returned to Simoda at evening. During the interview to-day some matters were settled and others brought up, which last showed the fears of the commissioners lest they had given or should give us too much liberty. From the general tenor of conversation we gather that they have been blamed for allowing so much extent of rambling as the Treaty states.

Sunday, June 11th.—It rained during the whole day, so that there was not only no religious service, but no coaling ship either, which it was intended should occupy the Sabbath in both steamers. Consequently, there was some rest for the men, though orders came for them to resume coaling at sunset. The "Macedonian" returned this evening, the "Southampton" having been in two days. The latter had a misty spell of weather at Volcano Bay, but Captain Boyle was able to make a survey of the harbor and go ashore a few times. The Ainos or Kuriles were more numerous than the Japanese there, but lived in a most wretched manner, destitute even of the comforts of the Japanese, subsisting almost wholly on the products of the sea and hills, and under the complete sway of the Japanese. The antlers of deer were common on the ground near their houses, and some deer were seen on the hills. They were very hairy people, as described by La Peyrouse, and with their scanty garments such additional covering would be comforting, though I would not say, as Lamark would, that the hair on their backs grew two inches long because their jackets were so thin.

Monday, June 12th.—The conference this morning was more tedious than ever, and small progress was made. The

commissioners refused to let a party go to Oho-sima, nor would they consent even to three and a half *ri* as the limit of rambling at Hakodadi, less than which Perry declined to consent to. Three pilots were introduced, like spaniels on their four feet, to whom the business of conducting ships into the harbor was to be committed, and no pay was to be taken for this service; in this manner the government will have their spies on board our ships before anchoring. The project of going to the limit allowed was discouraged, but its introduction brought out the suspicions entertained lest we should remain on shore over night, and the commissioners seemed to think no Americans were ever likely to need to sleep in Simoda, notwithstanding the Treaty made provision for a consul. Of course it was disallowed, and they were told that they had better set up teahouses or taverns for the accommodation of seamen rather than try to keep them thus on board ship. While thus discussing, reports came in of misbehaving, and on going to the landing Perry found some of his bargemen aad bandsmen so drunk they knew not what they were doing; a couple of bracelets met them on board, but it was a bad corollary on our discussion. Simoda, like Canton, is likely soon to have its Hog-lane, and the worst features of heathenism and Christian nations exhibited, making human nature more repulsive, before the excellencies of Christianity come to be known.

Tuesday, June 13th.—Mr. Spieden and Mr. Eldredge* took me along with them this morning to assist them in the discussions respecting the currency, in which there is likely to be no little difficulty, arising in some degree from the mistake we made in offering to value our dollar at 1200 cash, and letting it go at that until we went north, but still more from the evident desire of the Japanese to force us to pay in our gold and silver at their arbitrary valuation. On reaching the temple, we found Kurokawa and the committee ready to meet us, eleven people sitting in solemn rows to take note of what we and each of them

* Pursers on the "Mississippi" and "Powhatan."

said. Setting aside what was done yesterday, we began by proposing an equal exchange of gold for gold, and silver for silver, and after no small delay made them produce two ichibu, whose weight we compared with our dollars; they agreed that three ichibu made one dollar, but refused to consent to an exchange, saying that their valuation of gold and silver was so arbitrary that no reference could justly be made to it in conducting trade. It was twelve o'clock when we had reached this point, and the Commodore came in, rather surprised that in three hours we had made no more progress. At this session which lasted till six o'clock with only a short interruption, the limits at Hakodadi were settled at five *ri*, though yesterday he offered them three and a half, which they would not accept, and they had before offered five, which he declined. The temples at Simoda and Kakizaki were offered as places of resort for the sailors, and the desirableness of establishing shops or inns was urged; and (what was characteristic of Japanese and Chinese sway) Lin desired the Commodore to give orders that no sailors should get drunk on shore as they did yesterday, as if this was our responsibility. Perry told them this was their lookout, and if the Japanese did not sell sailors *saki*, none of them would get drunk. A complaint was made against one officer for leaving religious books at one of the temples, upon which the Commodore said that, if they would point out who had done it and bring back the books, he would give orders in the matter. He then said that, if the priests at the temple had not willingly taken the books, none would have been left there, and made a complaint in addition against the obscene books which the Japanese had given the sailors and thrown into the boats, declaring that such things were worse. He said that the Americans had no desire to interfere in the religious views of other nations, as perfect freedom was allowed in those matters in the United States, where even the Japanese might have a temple if they chose, but that they would never suffer the Japanese to insult the Christian religion, and any attempt to cast reproach on it would be met

with opposition and bring down on them the anger of the American people; wherefore, it would be well for the Japanese to treat Christianity with respect. Another point they tried to get Perry to consent to—the accompanying officers with spies under the name of guides, attendants, interpreters, or servants—was rejected, and the entire freedom of Americans to go as they pleased within the limits, staying out over night even, was maintained as being granted in the Treaty. A letter was brought in, just received from Hakodadi via Yedo, inclosing some of our written conversations held there, and stating that Perry had declared that, if he could not have ten *ri* about Hakodadi as the limit, he would make the Japanese pay 10,000 cobans as damages. The matter was placed in its true relations, but I could understand enough to hear them charge Lo and me with misinterpreting on these matters, and making trouble.

Wednesday, June 14th.—The finance committees separated to-day, unable to come to any agreement, for the Japanese refuse to exchange our coins at the value in cash of silver, but, regarding our dollar as bullion, they give the nominal valuation at the mines, where weight is reckoned by taels and mace, and cheat us of just 66⅔ cents in every dollar. The currency is now perfectly arbitrary, for the toō-hiaku is probably not worth more than ten copper cash, while it goes for one hundred; and compared with silver it is as cheap again as our cent, being nearly four times as large and only rated at 2.05 cents. Silver compared with gold is actually about 4800/1045, or only 4¾ times dearer; but discarding weight for weight, supposing an ichibu as pure as a gold dollar, the prescribed valuation makes $20 worth $10.45, whereas $20 silver would be worth $6.66, or an ounce of gold worth $8.448, and one of silver 33 cents, or 25.6 times cheaper. This most extraordinary valuation was acknowledged as forced upon the people by their rulers, but the latter would not take our dollars by it, though they paid the persons of whom we bought articles by it, pocketing the difference. If we disliked these terms we could stay away and

not trade. In giving gold, however, when compared with the prices paid by the people in cash, it must be depreciated as silver and therefore is actually worth only one third of the above 52½ cents per dollar, or only 17 cents, making our $20, when compared with the rates of currency among the people, worth $3.45! Yet the Japanese actually make five times a greater depreciation of our silver than gold, for while the latter is as 22 to 17, the former is as 33 to 100, so cheap is gold here compared with silver. Of course, we refused to agree to any such depreciation of our coins, and broke up the conference. In the afternoon the additional regulations were agreed upon with Moriyama, he standing out stoutly for discarding entirely the use of Chinese in all official communications, evidently, I think, so as to keep the whole intercourse in his own hands; it was compromised by allowing no Chinese when there was a Dutch interpreter.

Thursday, June 15th.—The draft of the Regulations was agreed upon to-day. They refer to guardhouses, pilots, public houses, mode of purchasing articles, limits at Hakodadi, and such things. The corpse from Yokohama was brought down to-day and interred by the side of Parrish at Kakizaki, the Japanese behaving very kindly in the matter. The weather is getting now very warm, 75° or so, the wheat and barley are reaped, and vegetation appears thriving. Irish potatoes are cultivated here and will furnish good supplies to ships if raised in quantities.

Friday, June 16th.—A third conference took place to-day between the parties in session upon the Regulations, which completed them. In the evening a concert was given on board of the "Mississippi" by the minstrels, at which fully three hundred Japanese and five hundred foreigners were assembled, making altogether a very respectable audience. The ship was dressed up, and the dinner was, considering our means, very good; the seven commissioners and three bunyos all sat down, leaving room for only a few officers, the rest being entertained on deck.

Everything went off well, and no fault could be found with the performances which were more spirited than at Hakodadi. The only drawback was a slight rain which incommoded us all during the singing, but nearly ceased before the party separated at about ten P.M. The Japanese were exceedingly amused at the dancing and tambourine music.

This entertainment and the similar one given at Hakodadi will, I think, produce the impression which we desire to make that we are willing to make all the efforts we can to please the people, who have done almost nothing of that sort of thing for us, not even inviting us to a common entertainment or amusement of any sort, or to go and see anything. The commissioners have shown themselves reserved on every point relating to the promotion of good personal feeling, confining themselves to official acts only; and the Commodore has set them a good example. The Japanese hardly know how to behave towards foreigners; they have been so long shut out from them that both officials and commoners are afraid of overstepping some regulation, whatever they do. This, in some measure, proceeds from fear, but a good deal more from haughty pride and contempt of others; the mutual ignorance of each other's language further opposes much intercourse.

Saturday, June 17th.—The Commodore sent his usual quartette ashore this morning to see the officials about the accounts and the stone and bazaar, and what not, but we made very little progress in getting anything, and the latter seems likely to prove a failure. The Japanese have not half the business tact which characterizes the Chinese, and more especially do matters of trade move slowly when the officials get hold of them. At three o'clock the Commodore went to see the officials and exchange the triglot copies of the Regulations, but they were not ready, nor were his sealed, and therefore no exchange was made. They expressed themselves greatly gratified with the performances of last evening, and were so doubtless. It was not till nearly six o'clock that we could get

off, by which time it was too late to think of taking a walk. The harmony of our conference to-day was marred by two of our crew going into a shop, pulling the spigot out of a barrel of saki, and drinking a basinful of it, letting the rest run on the floor meanwhile; as the owner tried to stop them, they drew on him and wounded him in the hand, themselves too being somewhat mauled in the scuffle. Such is one of the precursors of the trade with Christian America, though I hope the Japanese have discrimination enough to perceive and make a difference between the sailors who behave and those who act like fiends. It is amazing to see the lengths the thirst for rum will drive a man; five or six fellows are constantly at the stanchion for their misdemeanors growing out of love for liquor. The officers love it almost as well, but take their own time when to have a bout.

Sunday, June 18th.—The Commodore moved aboard the "Mississippi" again this morning, about fourteen months since he left her. The chaplain had service, but no sermon, and, as one might expect, there was not much quiet on board during the day, while there was a great deal of trading on shore. Truly may it be said that life in a man-of-war is too often like living on the outskirts of hell.

Monday, June 19th.—To-day was so stormy that nothing could be done, and the bazaar was deferred by Commodore Perry, as he himself was not desirous of going out in the rain. The articles were laid out indeed, but not marked, and we had them all labeled and their prices given, which at only 1600 cash to the dollar were exorbitant, making the greater part of the articles twice or thrice as dear as at Hakodadi; moreover, the variety was much less than we had been led to expect, deficient in many sorts of things which we had learned were abundant in Yedo, and not satisfactory in any department. The bad policy of their persisting in this unjust depreciation of the silver we paid them was again shown them, but either there is some reason why they would rather risk the loss of all trade, or the establishment here is placed on such a footing that it must have this high

commission for managing it, and they will not change. The Commodore expressed his indignation at this mode of doing business, saying that it was wholly opposed to their professions of friendship, and that he would have nothing to do with the matter if they did not change and make the prices of silver and goods more conformable. However, there is no likelihood of any modification.

We made some propositions respecting pilots and prices to be paid for them; also concerning some spars ordered by the Commodore, which we were coolly told were still growing in blissful ignorance of their fate on the mountains. In fact, these officials have become tired of supplying our reiterated wants which, with the provisions consumed by so many of their own officers, must be not a little troublesome, and perhaps expensive too, and not worth doing too much for.

Tuesday, June 20th.—The replies and dilatory actions of the Japanese were so unnecessary and impertinent yesterday that the Commodore quarantined the officers from going ashore at all, and sent a document to Lin and his colleagues, showing that they had violated their promises in respect to furnishing supplies and procuring articles wanted for the squadron and himself, especially in some dresses and the spars spoken of yesterday, adding that they were acting foolishly in their own view by not trying to do more to show their professed regard for the Americans, intimating his own opinion of such conduct and of the power he held in his hands. The paper was put into Dutch (no Chinese now being used in our intercourse) and given to Moriyama. How he rendered it to the commissioners we do not know, for he has the throttle valves of our intercourse in his hand, but in the evening he came off and said that the non-procurement of the dresses was his fault, and of the spars was owing to Tatsnoske's carelessness, as he had failed to attend to them. I suppose that at Desima no care for such requests ever fell to the lot of either of them, and they gave themselves little concern about them here.

After this message had been delivered, we made excuses for Perry's not coming ashore, which were mixed with as much moon-shine as usual on such occasions, and I suppose received by the Japanese in a diplomatic sense. They however gave us (Perry Jr. having gone aboard to report progress) the dinner which had been prepared for the Commodore, by far the most elaborate entertainment yet provided. It was served up on small lacquered tables and a set of little lacquered bowls and chinaware plates, the large articles being brought in on bowls and chargers and served out to each person by the prefect and his aids. Warm and cold saki was offered, the former in thin cups of porcelain brought in floating on water. Less fruit was introduced than among the Chinese, and no candy or sweet-meats. We made the entertainment pass off as well as we could, but both parties felt rather awkward, feeling that it lacked its chief objects, neither Lin or Perry being there. After dinner a variety of little articles were brought in as presents, not alone for the Commodore, but his suite and Captains Lee and McCluney. In the exchange of presents the Japanese have not shown themselves at all generous, whether it is owing to their entire ignorance of the actual cost of the things given them, and therefore inability to judge what would be of corresponding value, or to their petty characters. We stayed ashore till two o'clock, and I then went to see how the tombstones were being put up at Kakizaki, and found that the Japanese are very expert in stone cutting, but the material does not retain the inscriptions for many years. They have customs quite different from the Chinese in their rites of sepulture, one of which is cremation, as was seen hereabouts a few days ago. Among other events of to-day was the delivery of about sixteen tons of coal which the engineers decide against, even at the price of $27.50 per ton, and of ten or twelve cords of firewood, a large part of it sticks from one to one and a half inches in diameter. These important supplies are therefore not so readily furnished as it was hoped they would be, and are inferior in quality.

Perhaps a constant demand may increase the quality as well as the quantity, and this will probably decrease the price. An exchange of cottons or other goods will doubtless make an opening for the barter of other Japanese articles.

Wednesday, June 21st.—The quarantine continued till three o'clock to-day, at which hour the bazaar opened. The Commodore sent Mr. Bent and me ashore early to make the arrangements for exhibiting the things against the time he landed, but when we reached the temple Kurokawa and Yenoske showed plainly that they were in high dudgeon, and that the scolding document of yesterday had made them angry. The prices which had been attached to every article yesterday had been taken off, and they proposed that, except a portion which had been set apart for the President, the remainder should be taken off to the ships at such prices as we pleased to pay for them. It was with much entreaty and explanation that I got them to alter their minds and restore the labels, and put their own prices upon the articles, declaring that the Commodore would not otherwise take a single thing nor allow the officers to buy—much less let them be taken aboard ship. After some hesitation and talk among themselves they came around to our views and began to restore the labels and spread out the articles. Those for the President were mats, dresses, shell-work, plants and various birds. By the time we had made these arrangements and begun to number the goods and list them, Perry arrived, so that there was no need of saying anything respecting the matter. He chose nearly a hundred dollars' worth and had them sent off to the ship, by which time the commissioners were ready to meet at dinner. The two chiefs were seated opposite for the last time, but Lin has not much conversational power, and the others, especially Takenoüchi, took the lead in talking. The construction and use of pistols and cannon and steamers formed the main topic of conversation, though now and then other points came up. The interview was a pleasant one, and I could not but pray God that the officers of this hitherto secluded

land, of whom so fair a representation sat before us, might be guided by him to change their views and policy in accordance with the new state of things now coming upon them and their country.

The feast was no better than that given us yesterday, and lasted about an hour and a half. We were only interrupted once, and that was with the usual errand by the orderly in waiting, telling the Commodore that the bargemen had run away into town, doubtless to get spirits. After leaving them Perry went aboard, and we made ready for the coming of the officers. The numbers were rolled up and put into a box, Mr. Perry giving them out; there were nearly enough to go around twice and, as is usual, the coveted things were drawn by those who least expected them, Mr. Caulk, the gunner of the "Mississippi," getting the large paper-box. However, no other way of getting the few fine articles distributed without dissatisfaction was available, and there were enough in all to let each officer get something. It was a busy time for me for about an hour or two to get the various articles drawn for by one and another, ten or twenty of whom drew what they could not find. Before night there was very little left unsold, only a part of the umbrellas, shoes and coarse baskets remaining, while ten times as much fine lacquer could have been disposed of if it had been there. The assortment was far less than we had expected, and I think less than any Japanese merchant would have produced if the affair had been entrusted to him alone and he had been told what we most wanted.

Thursday, June 22nd.—Various other articles were brought in this morning from the shops in town, and trade was quite brisk, three or four shopmen having the privilege of displaying their wares on the boards. The idea that all this trade and negotiation and discussion had been carried on in a heathen temple, as if the Americans had come and shown their disregard of Japanese superstitions, and the little dread they had of all the idols of the country shown by setting themselves down

in one of the fanes, putting the gods behind the screens in darkness and neglect—this idea sometimes came across me in singular juxtaposition to the actual proceedings. The Commodore sent some tea and glassware to the commissioners, and arrangements were concluded about the rates of pilotage, the prices of wood and water, and some other matters. The stone for the Washington Monument came aboard, and by mistake the bill for getting it out was forwarded, from which we learned that the officials were expecting the moderate sum of $80 for this single block, only a cube of three feet! They charged $72 for the two gravestones and $32 for the fence around the yard, both of which rates showed their desire to make the best of our demands. The gravestones were neat pieces of work, and the inscriptions cut in good style, so that we had nothing to complain of on that score, but we made them take a reduction of $12 on both stones, as it was stated before making them that the rate would be $30 or $25 each.

All official business being over, Morrow and I took a last walk up the valley, over the hill into the upper part of it, and around by the side of the river, walking nine or ten miles and finding many old faces and acquaintances along the road, most of whom, especially at Hongo, seemed really pleased to see us. The country looked charming, the rice was mostly transplanted and gave a beautiful green hue to the hillsides and terraces, the hills above were dressed in dark verdure and, altogether, we were constantly called on to admire the successive beauties of the scenery. We obtained fewer flowers than I expected, but the most of those near the paths had already blossomed and a few berries had become ripe, among which were those of the paper-tree. It was the only walk I had taken since our abortive expedition to find the seven-*ri* limit with Bent and Maury, and was all the pleasanter for its rarity. We got back to Simoda about sunset, which on this solstitial day was nearly eight o'clock, tired and gratified with the excursion. If there is anything which has rendered the expedition to Japan pleasant to me

it is the walks in search of flowers and the greater freedom of intercourse with the people thereby obtained; these have been taken, too, with an agreeable companion in Dr. Morrow, so that we have both been pleased with our rambles, with each other, and with the objects of our search. I shall always recollect them with him; they form the pleasantest remembrances of Yokohama, Hakodadi and Simoda, although elsewise I have nothing to complain of. It is sad to see how few are the sources of enjoyment, occupation, or instruction which those around me have or find for themselves in such a spot as this, where the ordinary amusements and company found in seaports are wanting. They scold the Japanese, the Commodore, the ship, the Expedition, but their own evil tempers are never blamed; truly, it is sad to see such perversity and waste of time.

Friday, June 23rd.—Soon after breakfast all communication with the shore was stopped, much to the disnppointment of many. Mr. Bent and I were sent there with final messages, which gave me opportunity to do some errands for myself and others, and to take a last look at Simoda. Many of the shopmen had articles arranged on their boards, having learned to exhibit them if they wished to sell them, and seemed rather disappointed at being told their customers were gone. I have found some pleasant people among these shop people, and have been surprised to see how much the women do in the management of trade. I got a crowd at the door in a state of great merriment by ridiculing a dull fellow with a shrewd wife for being forced to ask her opinion on the prices of things we wished to buy. In every shop, almost, a woman comes to the board, and in all she is present, for the family lives in the rear, which is not screened in any way from the shop or street. The custom of sleeping on the same mats which by day have served for eating gives more room in a house than with us, who set apart so much space for bedrooms. The loft, where there is one, seems to be more often used for storage than sleeping.

We returned aboard at one o'clock, the steamers having

gone out to the mouth of the harbor and made every preparation for an early start in the morning. The artists and others connected with the Commodore's suite have all gone to the "Mississippi," printing press, dogs, cats, bargemen, orderly, servants, boxes, birds, all except Mr. Perry and myself, for whom there is no room, and Dr. Morrow, who is in the "Southampton." The "Supply" and "Macedonian" are to go to Killon to find the coalmines, and then to visit Manila, chaplain Jones taking charge of the expedition. Mr. Boudinot goes aboard the "Macedonian," and Mr. Mish back to the "Mississippi."

In the afternoon Yenoske came aboard the flagship and brought off a number of parting presents, together with the birds and dogs for the President. He and Isaboro were in good spirits, and Commodore Perry entertained them with cake and wine. He asked them a variety of questions, too, one of which was about the results of the "Phaeton's" raid in Nagasaki harbor in 1808. Moriyama said that the governor, whose name he gave us, two of his colleagues (like Kurokawa and Ishia I suppose) and ten others, all committed suicide in consequence of the attack and detention of the Dutchmen. He said that all men of character avoided disgrace and capital punishment by suicide, ripping themselves across the belly and then cutting their throats, but that common people usually hung themselves. Regicides and murderers of superiors were transfixed with two spears and then decapitated as they hung on a cross; common criminals were dispatched by decollation, but crucifixion or starving on a cross was not common. He said he should readily make way with himself if he got into any trouble or disgrace, and the rest seemed not surprised at the assertion. When told that the captain of the "Phaeton" was now admiral at Canton, and might be up in Japan next year, they were much startled, but were recommended not to dispatch themselves, but rather make friends with him and drink his champagne. At leaving the Commodore gave each of them a bottle and they

went away, shaking hands all round. They had gathered up all the Chinese cash we had paid them and brought it back, preferring to return it at 1600 to the dollar, though they took most of it at 1200, rather than keep it.

I went with them to the "Powhatan," where they paid over some more cash and received some more presents. Moriyama and Isaboro gave me their names on a slip of fancy paper they had brought with them, from which it appears that the Japanese have the same custom of a 姓, a 名, a 字 and a 號 as the Chinese. The Siogoun, aged 44 now, is named Zhiun-na Soögaku Rio-in no Betto Genzhi no Chioja Ken Sadaizhin; the Mikado is an older man, but the Sigoun's name was so long I did not ask for his superior's. Isaboro's name in full is Genzhi Yoshimasa Tsu-shio Gohara Isaboro, 姓源氏名義適通稱合原猪三郎, the first two of which form his surname, and all the rest his given name or names. His present official title is Kan Simoda Bugio Kumi Noriki Ohoshets Gakari 官下田奉行組與力應接掛, and that of Kurokawa, his superior, Simoda Bugio Shi-hai Kumi Gashira 下田奉行支配組頭, that is, imperially appointed to be assistant colleague to the head (officer) at Simoda. He is generally called Bugio or Bunyo or Bungio, the difference being caused by the sound of *ng* given by some persons and not by others. These officers are now appointed under Izawa and Take-noüchi, and expect to reside here permanently.*

Our visitors took leave about dusk, and this closed all intercourse with the Japanese for the first American Expedition to Japan, being within three days of a year, by their reckoning, since it anchored off Uraga.

Saturday, June 24th.—A supplementary boat went ashore this morning from the "Mississippi" to carry some printed copies of the port regulations and rates of pilotage in Simoda, to leave with the authorities, so that the last visit was on our part, after all, as the first visit last year was on the side of the

* Moriyama Yenoske was found here by Townsend Harris in 1856.

Japanese. The day began so rainy and the sea was so rough we have lain at anchor all day, no communication being had with each other or the shore. I wished much to take another ramble over the adjacent hills, but there was no chance; they appeared more inviting than ever, and at any time they and the country about this port are not excelled by any harbor we have been in Japan.

On a review of the proceedings of this Expedition, no one can refuse his assent to the assertion that it has been peculiarly prospered by God, and, so far as we are at liberty to say it, was planned and carried out so as to receive his blessing as a step in his plans for the extension of his kingdom in this land. The appointment of a naval man as the envoy was wise, as it secured unity of purpose in the diplomatic and executive chief, and probably Perry is the only man in our navy capable of holding both positions, which has been proved by the general prudence and decision of his proceedings since he anchored at Uraga last July. It has been favorable to his unbiassed action that he has had no captain under him whose judgment and knowledge entitled him to the least weight in his mind; all, except Buchanan, spent their thoughts in criticising what he did and wishing they were going home. If the Commodore and the Envoy had been two persons, such a state of feeling in the officers might have at last crippled the firmest purposes of the latter and thwarted the whole enterprise. But such a dilemma was avoided, and Perry regarded all under him as only means and agents to serve his purpose, perhaps too often disregarding wishes and opinions of a comparatively trifling nature. But that extreme is almost unavoidable in minds of strong fibre, and bred for years to command, as he has been, such power has habit.

Further, the remarkable weather experienced since Perry left Macao for Shanghai last April—fair, pleasant and healthy in a degree to draw the attention of all, who have more frequently cried out, "See Perry's luck," than been disposed to acknowledge the hand and favor of God in it—has not a little

aided the Expedition. Four or five of the ships have grounded, but none have been injured; the "Supply" was ashore two days on the North Sand at Wusung, and thumped the rock in Simoda Bay, but apparently received no damage; the "Powhatan" narrowly escaped ruin near Labuan by striking a rock, losing only her fore foot; the "Macedonian" and "Lexington" grounded, but were soon relieved; and the "Susquehanna" got no damage by running on a bank in the Yang-tsz' kiang. The mistake made by the "Susquehanna" in coming to Yedo Bay, opening that of Sagami instead of Yedo, enabled the Commodore to tow off the "Macedonian" from her sand bank before she received any injury, and to go up before the town of Uraga in imposing array; three powerful steamers like the "Susquehanna," "Powhatan" and "Mississippi" carrying each another vessel, the "Vandalia," "Macedonian" and "Lexington," showed the Japanese the means we had at command, and may have inclined them to receive us now we had come, and not refer to the strong letter they had written Perry through the Dutch requesting him to stay away for three years. It seems to me that he who refuses to recognize the hand and blessing of God in these preservations, and involving his general approval, is unwilling to recognize it anywhere or in anything. The simultaneous arrival of the "Saratoga" and the steamers at Lewchew last year, and of the six ships at the mouth of the Bay of Yedo this year, prevented all delay; and so has the regular passage of the store-ships to China and back to Lewchew and Japan, to Hakodadi, to the Bonins, and to Simoda from Kanagawa, carried out the plans depending on them. The long passage of the "Saratoga" last March is almost the only case of delay, and this caused no embarrassment. The general good health of the 1600 persons in the squadron, destitute as almost all of them have been of fresh provisions since last January, and the good condition of most of the stores brought on, calls for particular mention, as the converse might have hampered the whole enterprise. The Japanese could not easily collect fresh

provisions for so large a body of people, and the extremity of sickness might have driven us to the extremity of forcibly supplying ourselves with food at some rate, even if the alternative was instant hostilities and the attack of Yedo itself. Such a procedure, necessary as we might have deemed it for our own preservation, and not to be thought of in almost any position, might have been resorted to by some one less patient, and (I can conceive) might have removed the peaceful opening of Japan to an indefinite period. Now, not a shot has been fired, not a man wounded, not a piece of property destroyed, not a boat sunk, nor a Japanese to be found who is the worse, so far as we know, for the visit of the American Expedition.

Some will ask what has been gained or done by this Expedition at all commensurate with the cost it has been to the United States. What ultimate results will be seen must indeed be estimated, and can only be, when time has disclosed them, both in respect to trade between the two countries and intercourse between their people, in respect to the facilities Japanese coal can give to connecting California and Asia, and in that of supplying whalers and other vessels with provisions and retreat from storms. But in the higher benefits likely to flow to the Japanese by their introduction to the family of civilized nations through the Treaty of Kanagawa, increased by the additional regulations signed at Simoda, I see a hundred-fold return for all the additional expense the American government has been at in sending out this Expedition, and a mode of expending her income which will redound greatly to her credit. By permission of the Commodore, I drew up a paper of a general character which was sent to Lin last evening by Moriyama. In it, I endeavored to show how Japan could learn much which would be of enduring benefit to her by adopting the improvements of western lands, and allowing her people to visit them and see for themselves; adding that it was to set before them the most useful and curious specimens of western art that the President had sent out to them such things as a steam engine, a

telegraphic apparatus, a daguerreotype, all sorts of agricultural implements, books and drawings explaining these and other things, and not merely curious articles or eatables or arms, from which they might learn to make such, or obtain the assistance of those who could instruct them. The great change in the policy of western nations from what it was two hundred years ago was referred to as removing all grounds for fear of any evil consequences resulting to them by a greater extension of the liberty now granted, and that no one could wish them to do aught which would be injurious or hazardous. The paper closed with a hint respecting the danger, if Americans were followed by spies and officials wherever they went, and that all that was necessary was to have those who did wrong accused and properly punished.

Whatever results may ensue from this and many other hints given to the Japanese since we reached the Bay of Yedo, I think that on the whole the impression left on the people by the squadron has been favorable. More intimate acquaintance would show more good and evil traits in our character, and they have now probably seen a fair average. Erelong I hope and pray that the gracious designs of Providence in thus favoring this Expedition will be still further developed, and the light of revealed truth be permitted to shine upon the benighted and polluted minds of this people. The glorious promises, yet unfulfilled, of the days of gospel liberty are evidences enough of what forms, at least a part of, God's plans in opening the way as has now been done. Among a people so inquisitive and acute, it cannot be long before some will be able to break away from the trammels which now bind them to Japan, and see, for as long as they wish, what Christianity has done for other lands, and what it will do for their own. The day of God's visitation will be one of love, till the ignorant and degraded have had the paths of knowledge and purity laid open for them and the page of Revelation put before them in their own tongue. In all this I see a vast reward for the expenses of this Expedition, and a

gain to the cause of humanity and goodness beyond calculation in paltry gold or silver or traffic.

In reviewing the proceedings of the last few months, it is fair to give the Japanese officers the credit of showing none of that hauteur and supercilious conduct which the perusal of books might have reasonably led one to infer formed a part of their character. Compare the conduct of the Burmese when Crawford went to see them at Ava, or of the Chinese when Amherst went to Peking, with that of Hayashi and his colleagues, and down, too, in the subordinate ranks of officials, a class who are noted in China for their contemptuous treatment of foreigners, and everyone must admit their superiority in point of courtesy, their decorum, their willingness to receive suggestions, and their general good sense in discussing the matters brought forward for their acceptance. Perhaps more impracticable men could easily have been found, and these seven were probably chosen for their views being favorable to a change in the national policy, but the other qualities referred to may fairly be taken as part of the national character, since we have seen them among all classes to some extent. In no country could more agreeable and kind-hearted men be found than old Yendo and Fuzhiwara at Hakodadi, and if one could converse with all he would find some traits to please him.

Sunday, June 25th.—The whole squadron lay windbound yesterday, and we were forbidden to step foot ashore, though a ramble in the cool breeze blowing over the hills would have been most pleasant. Not a Japanese boat came near us, and night closed over the harbor without any other communication than Mr. Bent going ashore to take copies of the Regulations and pilot charges which had been printed for the Japanese in Dutch and English. This morning the five ships got under weigh, but the wind died away before the "Macedonian" and "Supply" could get an offing, and they had to anchor, although the former contrived to get the assistance of several native boats. In this position of affairs the steamers left them in the harbor,

we taking the "Southampton" in tow, and soon Japan was lost to view. Doubtless our departure was a relief to the over-burdened town of Simoda, for during the last few days almost no provisions were to be procured; and yesterday morning we saw the long trains of Lin and his colleagues winding along the beach toward Kakizaki on their return to Uraga and Yedo. After such an exit the townsfolk would hardly recognize their own quiet village, if the presence of officials in Japan is as much a scourge to the common people as it is in China. There must have been a thousand people in the procession, and their various insignia formed rather a picturesque train.

Saturday, July 1st.—Napa Road, Lewchew.

The passage hither was over a smooth and pleasant sea, the southwest monsoon being just strong enow to keep the ships well ventilated. On the way down the "Mississippi" went near the island of Oho-sima, a large islet lying nearly a hundred miles north of Lewchew, to ascertain its size and whether any harbors existed. Mr. Maury went ashore in a boat to reconnoitre and, as he approached the beach, was met by a party of natives drawn up in arms to oppose his landing. One among them had a matchlock, and one, who seemed to take the lead, had a single sword; others were furnished with stones, sticks or spears. Sam Patch soon undeceived them, and stated the pacific intentions of the boat, when many of the men left and got ashore, and some provisions were brought down to the beach. Mr. Maury slipped away into a village from whence the natives had issued, and found it a most miserable collection of huts, the abodes of filth, ignorance and heathenism. The men wore pins in their hair like the Lewchewans, while the presence of swords indicated their proximity to Japan, with whose language theirs had more affinity. They present a more wretched condition, even, than any of those people whom we have yet seen, and cause one to notice how easily man deteriorates in a small community where every member is compelled to labor for a living, so that there is no surplusage of produce on which a govern-

ment can be supported, whose members, while they may oppress, still do much to maintain a higher state of civilization than the people under them do or would. These islanders, lying between Lewchew and Japan, are worse off than either, and it is probably because their little intercourse with either leaves them ignorant of what is most worthy of imitation, and the feeble energies of their untutored minds prevent all efforts to better themselves. The shores of the island offered many patches of cultivated fields, probably of rice, and the hilltops were mostly well wooded; between them a few valleys opened, in which something like orchards appeared.

Yesterday we spoke an English ship, the "Great Britain," bound from Shanghai to England, from which we learned the news of the declaration of war against Russia by England and France, and some of the first steps in the dreadful drama. She first supposed us to be Russian steamers, and the officers who boarded her found the captain and crew had been in a terrible fright, from which they had hardly recovered, though they had seen the American colors for nearly an hour.

On reaching the anchorage, Mr. Randall, Captain Glasson* and Mr. Bettelheim came off to see the Commodore. The principal burden of their information was the murder of a seaman of the "Lexington" named Board, on the 19th ult., and the injuries received by another named Scott at the same time in the market-place at Napa. Scott and another comrade Smith were buying something, for which they had paid the money, when an official took it away from the woman, at which they became angry and began to drive him off. He called others, and Scott was soon thrown down and so bruised as to be left nearly senseless. Both the sailors were at least tipsy, but Board would take nothing and was not present when this attack was made, at least so far as they know, though he may have been coming up to their relief. Mr. Bierbower†

* Lieutenant Commander of the "Lexington" which reached Napa in May.

† Bierbower and Randall were the master's mates who had been left in charge of the coal depot at Tumai.

was informed at Tumai that two of the sailors were lying in the street drunk, and as soon as he could went there, where he found the man Scott too drunk and bruised to help himself. While getting *kago* to take both of them to Tumai, he was told that another was lying in the water near the causeway, and found the body of Board lying in a boat and frothing at the mouth. The Lewchewans said they had taken him out of the water, into which he had fallen and drowned. The corpse was removed to Dr. Bettelheim's house, and an examination by him and Dr. Nelson of the "Lexington" showed that the skull had been almost broken by blows, and congestion of the blood on the brain followed; no spirit was found in the stomach, nor any flesh wounds or cuts on the body. The testimony of the Lewchewans was so contradictory that no reasonable account of the cause, provocation, or mode of death could be obtained, while his fellows were too tipsy to say what they did see or might have seen, if they really did see anything, and, of course, we can get nothing satisfactory from them on the matter.

For some days after the market was nearly deserted, and for more than a week no one came to the house at Tumai. Mr. Bierbower had been stoned before this sad event, and Mr. Randall had written an earnest remonstrance to the Regent which Mr. Bierbower, armed with a cutlas, carried to the castle at Shui (or to that officer's house) and pounded away at the door till the paper was received, A reply came next day saying that it was a mistake, for the stones were not thrown at Mr. Bierbower, but the children had games of playing with stones, some of which fell near where he was passing! It was promised, however, that the children should be ordered not thus to play with stones any more, but to reverently retire when they saw Mr. Bierbower. I wonder he did not inflict summary chastisement on them when the deed was done.

The men left at Tumai have been supplied at stated times with enough to eat, and have spent their time in a quiet manner.

The temperature has been generally pleasant, but the houses have leaked, for they are old and tiled.

Mr. and Mrs. Morton came in a little while after we had left last February, and have thus far received no molestation; they occupy the same rooms as Mr. Bettelheim did. Some letters were found awaiting us from China and the United States which were too gladly opened by their owners.

In the day, Mr. Bent and I went twice to the mayor's office to make arrangements for a meeting with the Commodore and Regent to demand the rendition of the murderer of Board, to ask for two stones for the Washington Monument, some flowers and birds of the country, the coins to be exchanged, and two pilots to go over to the Kirrima Islands with a party of survey. A strange catalogue this, but likely to be followed by something as strange, and perhaps more instructive to these impertinent islanders.

During our absence the grandmother of the prince died, when the people went into mourning for forty-nine days, wearing no hairpins, selling or killing no pork or beef, and pretending to close government offices. The orders respecting flesh-meats was evaded by the people, and Mr. Bierbower one day came across the pork market near the edge of a wood beyond Tumai; so that it seems, here as well as in China, the people understand how much they are to value governmental edicts at in certain places.

Monday, July 3rd.—I was sent for by the Commodore at five bells this morning to draw up a paper respecting the murder of William Board, in which he demanded a satisfactory examination of the criminals, and proper punishment of the guilty. He had proposed himself to go ashore, but concluded to send this document instead by Mr. Bent and two orderlies, and straitly intimate to the Regent that he would not be satisfied with any subterfuges. The paper was strongly worded, and when we arrived there and refused to taste the provisions which were spread out for us, or to treat on any other subject, or to

receive the birds and plants they had prepared in accordance with the request of Saturday, and also that no provisions would be accepted or bought until this serious matter was adjusted, and gave them the document to peruse, the Regent began to see that we were in earnest. A long document was put into our hands, the same which had already been given to Captain Glasson, in which and in their reports, they adhered to the assertion that the man was drunk, and, after stumbling along as he went, had fallen into the water and was drowned. It seemed to produce no impression on them to repeat and reiterate, again and again, that it was impossible for a man to fall so as to give himself such wounds in front and on the back of his head; nor could he rise himself after receiving one of them, but would lie stunned. We remained till nearly noon and left them, to take the papers they had given us to show Perry, refusing to touch a drop or accept a single thing. In the evening we visited the two forts at the entrance of Junk river, to see their position, and then went by the spot on the causey where Board was picked up, around through the streets to the mayor's office, where we found the Regent and officers still in waiting, and every dish remaining on the table just as we left them six hours before. They all looked anxious, and when it was intimated that the Commodore was not satisfied with their reply, and gave them only till to-morrow noon to make suitable explanation and give the real criminals up for trial, they were still more perturbed; in fact, their silence was very impressive. The same story was repeated, but we would not hearken nor taste a dish. Mr. Randall and Bierbower, with all the old sailors, are ordered on board ship, so that matters must look a little squally to these double-dealing people.

Tuesday, July 4th.—Our message and decided bearing last night had some effect on the Regent, for he and about a dozen attendants came on board the "Mississippi" this morning to see the Commodore respecting the case in hand, and get a respite of some days longer to examine some persons respecting the

murder, amounting to several hundreds, then to a hundred, and then to a great many. As we knew well enough from the papers already given in by them that this examination of so many was a mere pretense, the Commodore very properly would not listen to their request for four or three days, nor even till to-morrow night, but, on account of to-day being a holiday, he granted them till noon of to-morrow and, failing their rendition of the criminals, he threatened to take possession of the forts at the mouth of the river and stop their boats. They asked for two days, but went away with this final answer, having first been shown some of the cobangs and ichibus obtained in Japan, the like of which they were expected to exchange for the coins we left with them, though Ichirazichi had the effrontery to assert he had never before seen them in Lewchew. It is probable that they are not common, but this was going rather too far, for if the Lewchewans visiting Fuhchau have been known to have them, it is exceedingly improbable that one in his position has not even seen Japanese coins. However, his question, "If you have got them already from Japan, why do you now wish any more from us?" was a pertinent one, and I do not think Perry is right in pushing them so hard for coins which they do not make, when we know how stringent Japanese laws are on this point. The party left us in much despondency, but I do not pity them at all, since they have shown so much weakness and lying from the beginning as to take away all trust in their statements. For this homicide they ought to receive a serious warning which will leave those who come after us the safer, as well as Morton who is to live here. I am somewhat inclined to think the man Board may have been involved in a fracas with the Japanese crews there, and knocked into the water where he was drowned without any intention of killing him; and this still further embarrasses the Lewchewans who, like Balaam's ass, are between two walls. However, this is a supposition.

Fourth of July was kept by firing a salute of seventeen guns from each steamer, by reading the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, singing a song, music by the bands, and the best dinners which the larders afforded. The day was charming and proved more of a holiday than Sabbaths even have usually been, so far as work was concerned; in the moonlight evening our ship's company was entertained by the singing of the minstrels.

Wednesday, July 5th.—Work was resumed this morning early, coaling, watering, etc., besides a court-martial on a drunken engineer and the two sailors who made the row in Napa. I was sent for from the "Mississippi" and on getting aboard found Ichirazichi and his colleague with a card from the Regent requesting the Commodore to send some officers, and whoever else he pleased, to attend at the examination going on at the Napa kung-kwan. Mr. Bent and I went, and found the Regent and Chief Treasurer in the office, with two judges sitting by the entrance opposite each other, and assistants or clerks on both sides of them, seven people on the floor, two bailiffs below them, and still outside; on the ground beyond the porch, were two jailers with a criminal or witness between them, whom they were then examining. Heaps of ashes lay around the yard, an awning or tent drawn back was over the gateway, and a newly erected hut stood in one corner. Everything showed that we had finally set them really to work examining the case, and might now expect to get at the truth of the circumstances, so far as this deceitful people can speak it. After we had been seated a little while the man who was kneeling on the ground, his hands leaning on the porch, and uttering little more than repeated interjections of assent to the denunciations of the judges, was harshly seized by the jailer on his right and his arms tightly pinioned behind him, and then each jailer gave him a heavy blow on his soles, a blow which might well nigh have broken the bones had it not been so gauged that the end of the stick came down on the ground. However, rough as was this usage, the poor fellow gave forth no groan, nor moved his features, but repeated his responses of *ho, ho, ho,* to every interrogation or denunciation. As soon as

he was led off by the bonds to the neat-shed, I called Ichirazichi and told him that, as we could understand nothing of this examination conducted in the Lewchewan tongue, it was needless for us to remain any longer. He replied that they had been occupied since yesterday in reinvestigating the case, and had not been able to bring it to a close, nor could they possibly do so before to-morrow night, for the number of people implicated as witnesses or actors was very great, and must all be examined. The authorities of Napa had returned an entirely false report upon the case, which the Regent and Treasurer there present had now ascertained. The facts elicited now were that Board had gone into a yard or house to trifle with or lay hold of a woman, who ran from him, calling out to a person in sight to assist her; he came in and seized Board round the body, who then struggled to escape and got out into the street. Eight or ten natives had collected who, seeing the sailor pursued and learning that he had attempted this woman, seized stones lying about the spot and threw at him as he ran, hitting him on the head and body. He fled for the water and the populace, closing in as they heard the fracas, only made it more difficult for him to see any escape. Whether he jumped or fell into the water, or was pushed or thrown in, I did not learn, nor had the woman been examined.

This explanation of the causes and mode of Board's death was more likely than anything we had hitherto heard, but I upbraided him with the duplicity of the former report, its absurdity and imperfections, the supineness of the Regent in taking such a ridiculous report of a death and not investigating it for three weeks, nor as soon as we had demanded the culprits last Saturday, and told him the day of grace was up, the time allowed had expired, and we must return to tell the Commodore. It was nothing to us what investigations they were making, for all we wanted was that the criminals be tried, and the authorities of Napa knew them already. It was the business of the Regent to see that the reports of subordinates were trustworthy,

and if he palmed lies off on us we should hold him responsible. The life of an American was too serious a matter to be trifled with, however great was the provocation, and their nonsensical statement about the deceased having fallen into the water and nobody seeing it made it difficult for us to believe anything they said.

The people around were as still as mice while we told them these things, and both the Regent and the fine looking, venerable old Treasurer were so excited that they stood around the little table between us hearing it all. I have hardly seen any person in my life present a more dignified appearance than this old man; his white beard reaching to his girdle, his gold pins in a hoary head, and his clean, flowing, whitish grass-cloth robes, altogether formed a beautiful picture. I wish he was more honest.

We left the draft of a treaty in their hands, consisting of six broad articles, which Perry intends to get the Regent to sign as a pact between the two nations. Some of its provisions extend over others, as well as all Americans. As we came off another poor fellow was brought up for examination and pinioned as the former one.

Thursday, July 6th.—The Commodore made no move yesterday afternoon, though I think it would have been well to have landed a party of marines at the Ame-ku-dera to show that he was not inclined to longer delay, and when he set a limited time he meant to adhere to it. However, it was not till after dinner to-day that he gave orders to Captain Tansill to go ashore with twenty marines and take possession of the temple and yard at Tumai, allowing no natives to enter or remain within the precincts. After these orders were carried into effect Mr. Bent went up to the Napa kung-kwan where we found the Regent and another Treasurer in sitting and the six judges and assistants, bailiffs, and all in order, as yesterday, but the jailers and witnesses absent. The awning was drawn over the yard, and more heaps of ashes were seen, indicating night sessions.

All looked serious, but the Regent rose to receive us, and we told him our message, that some marines had landed at Tumai, and the Commodore wished him to go to Ameku-dera (天久寺) at ten A.M. to meet him. The officers present had a long consultation among themselves, and then a list of six names was handed us, being persons who had been proved to have thrown stones, and were present in the mob, but it was difficult to ascertain whether these had hit the man, or who had instigated the mob. They implicated six others who had not been examined, and therefore more time still was demanded to bring the case to a satisfactory close, but we refused consent, as all the time they asked for had elapsed—that is, the shortest period they had stated.

I will give these islanders credit for much careful inquiry into this sad case, and we know that many poor fellows have been pinioned and pounded already in their inquiries, and the chains lying around might tell more fearful stories if they could speak. In a similar dilemma in China it is more than probable that two or three wretches, guilty of some other offense, would have been brought forward and given over to us to do what we liked with them, and the officers would thus have washed their hands of the matter as soon as it assumed a serious aspect. Indisposed as I am to let the Lewchewans off for their outrage on Board, or to excuse their mendacity in the report palmed off on us at first, I am willing to do all justice to their present efforts to get at the real points of the case, and even to infer that a criminal here gets as fair an investigation as anywhere east of the Ganges. The system of espionage is so well established that it prevents many a crime by rendering its detection so easy; and the rulers can therefore afford to do honorably, in their view, when a case comes before them. Great cruelty is exercised, doubtless, in our view, but a criterion of that sort does not suit this latitude, any more than we ought to blame Bacon for his judicial cruelties as much as we do Jeffreys.

One of the judges was called up by the Regent while we

sat by, and as he respectfully stood slightly bowing before him, his white beard reaching to his girdle, his hair neatly done up and his clean grasscloth flowing dress, altogether gave him, in our opinion, as venerable and dignified an appearance as we had anywhere ever seen, far more so than anything we had met with in Japan. Mean and simple as this Lewchewan court-house is, such men as are here convened, to do what they deem (or feel) due to justice, raise one's opinion of the nation and add new respect for their institutions. And then, too, whatever may be the reality, either as to the provocation offered by Board to this woman, or her disregard of his offers or attempts, we certainly must place external morality in Napa greatly beyond what it is in Simoda, and Lewchewan officers above Japanese for decency and respect.

Friday, July 7th.—I was sent for soon after breakfast and, on reaching the "Mississippi," found Ichirazichi and his cross-looker there, and judged by their countenances that they had some serious matter on their minds, which the suspense the delay had kept them in had not diminished. The Regent had sent them off to propose a meeting on board ship to avoid the inconvenience to the Commodore of going ashore, but doubtless to save himself the mortification of visiting him at Ameku-dera, where armed men showed that he was no longer master of his beautiful island. The Commodore very courteously allowed the proposition, and Mr. Bent and I went ashore to tell him explicitly the terms on which he would be received. We found him and the Treasurer at the kung-kwan and informed them that the Commodore was willing to meet him if he brought the principal criminal on board and gave him up unconditionally to him, and was ready to sign the treaty which had been proposed to them. They were not quite prepared to do this, and brought forward the Commodore's declaration that he did not wish to try the criminals himself; but I told them that I had said nothing about trying them, and as one American was killed, only one Lewchewan was demanded, and they need not bring off the six.

After long consultation among themselves, in which most of the officials present joined, we left the office with this ultimatum, and that they would not be allowed to come on board otherwise, though they could not, as usual, be brought to say Yes.

At noon they were alongside the ship, the chief criminal with them, and were soon seated in the cabin, he kneeling pinioned before all. Not the least hint had been given them of what was to be done with him, and when, after I had given Perry the purport of the proceedings, in which the circumstances of the rape were given as the provoking cause of the mob, and that this man had been found guilty and been sentenced to banishment for life to Pachung shan, and the other five to Ty-pin san for eight years, he replied that he was now satisfied with the proceedings of the authorities, and with the examination and finding they had made, and now gave the whole six back into their hands to be punished as they had decreed, their surprise and relief was so sudden that the two chiefs and all the other officials immediately rose up to make their profound acknowledgments. They perhaps thought the least punishment would be imprisonment and death, but the Commodore had it in mind to take him to America, whence he might be returned at some future day, qualified in some measure to benefit his countrymen. However, he told them he should leave the matter in their hands, taking their sealed declaration that the sentences had been properly executed. Respecting the articles of the treaty, the Regent requested time to confer with the other Treasurers, and they would be ready to discuss the paper to-morrow and settle all its points. This was agreed to, and a meeting between the principals arranged for Monday. The Commodore also told them he wished a bell to hang in the top of the Monument at Washington; and I really believe he thought more of the procurement of this bell than the settlement of the case of murder and mob. The relief they had experienced led them to listen readily to the request for a bell, which belike

will be used in the Monument to call people together to hear Fourth of July orations.

Thus this difficult question has been satisfactorily settled, and in such a way, too, as to leave an impression on the minds of the Lewchewans that the lives of foreigners are not to be trifled with, but that we, at least, are willing to do justly by them and desirous to judge this matter fairly. This case was an aggravated one, and they are excusable, if any people could be, though to leave it with their merely making an apology would never do, and might be prejudicial to the safety of whalers or small vessels stopping here, if not to Mr. Moreton and his family. We of course cannot certainly tell what the authorities will do with the criminals, but I am inclined to think they will take a journey to the Madjico-sima.

Saturday, July 8th.—During the forenoon the Commodore, who is as uneasy as a man with the toothache, and seems happiest when stirring somebody up, was arranging and disarranging the presents he intended to send to the Lewchewan authorities, altering the lists, but never coming nearer to satisfying himself. A pailful of beautiful fish, among them Spari, Balistes, Merra, and Aulostomus, brought in by Maury, offered a new subject for him for some time, until he got the artists at work painting them, calling them off from their dinner, lest it should not be done soon enough. The variety and gay colors of the fish in these waters exceed anything I ever saw before, but those we get are mostly from the reefs, and coral reefs are noted for gay fishes.

In the afternoon we met the Regent and chief Treasurer at the Napa hall, and now were happy to partake of their good cheer, which evidently afforded them satisfaction. The birds and plants were brought out again, one of the former being supplied with a plateful of musquito larvae wriggling in a little water; if birds were only able to feed themselves with these insects, Lewchew could support as great an aviary as any country I ever was in. The sojourn of Tansill and his marines

for one night at Ameku-dera nearly used them up, such an attack did the musquitos make on them.

At the meeting this afternoon we discussed the various points of the treaty, they having carefully looked the document over. To our surprise, the greatest objection they made was to the preamble, in which it was stated that Lewchew and the United States entered into a treaty of amity, saying that this would offend the Chinese emperor, to whom they gave their allegiance, and who would visit his wrath upon them if they assumed an independent position, as this preamble asserted. In reference to Tuchara or Japan, they said that the trade with Satsuma was carried on mainly for the purpose of procuring rare and fine articles to carry with them to China when they took tribute to Peking. They wished to say nothing respecting the latter trade and evaded a reply when I asked them if they did not take tribute to Kagosima also. The admission of being tributary to China seemed to please them, rather than be a humiliation, and the real fealty they are in to Satsuma must be a sore subject and a grievous burden, or it would hardly be so mortifying to them to say aught respecting it. Of course, if they are willing to promise all we want it is likely to be held fully as binding to give the assurance in their own style. They tried, too, to get all the trade into the hands of the officials by making it the duty of the captain of the ship to furnish a list of what he wanted, but this was refused, though we altered the clause which they so interpreted as to oblige them to buy as well as sell.

They defined illegal acts, for which all citizens of the United States can be seized and taken to their captain, as including "rushing or intruding into houses, ravishing women, forcing people to sell things to them at their price, and going about streets at night," from which I infer that these acts have been the chief obnoxious doings of Americans whilst here. We assented to this addition except the last clause.

Finally, as Commodore Perry had stipulated these liberties

for all Americans, English, French, and other Western nations, they supposed he had authority on these points, and they wished to have him carry Mr. Moreton and family away when he left. As the inference was a fair conclusion from the premise, we did not reply, otherwise than by promising to mention the matter to Perry; and such was their readiness to catch at even this slight but fallacious prospect, that both the Regent and Treasurer rose to return their profound thanks. This incident proves the wisdom of the Commodore last January when he declined to give Moreton a passage in one of the ships. A sealed document was given to us by the Regent himself containing the promise respecting the criminals:—

"A sealed declaration.—A sailor of your country, named Board, on the 12th of June, about four o'clock P.M., forced his way into a house and violated a woman, and then rushed from the place; an angry crowd now came together, and some threw stones to wound him, others to drive him off, causing him to flee away, by which he was drowned. We have carefully investigated the case in all its circumstances, and adjudged to the criminals the following sentences, and have hereto affixed our seal as evidence.

"To the murderer, Tokisi, 渡慶次, aged 29, of Higasi-mura, for throwing stones and wounding the American, by which he fell in his haste into the water and was drowned, banishment for life to Pachung-shan.

"To abettors in the murder, Konishi, 國吉, aged 16, of Komi-mura, 久米村, Yara, 屋良, aged 18, of Watanji, 渡地村, Arakaki, 新嘉喜, aged 19, of Higashi-mura, 東村, Chining, 知念, aged 18, of Nishi-mura, 西村, and to Karagusku, 金城, aged 32, of the same village, banishment to Typingsan for eight years.

"Signed by Sho Fu-fing, 尙宏勳, Superintendent of affairs in Lewchew, and Un Tukuyu, 翁德裕, Chief Treasurer. July 8, 1854."

The other two treasurers, Mo Fu-mi, 毛鳳鳴, who came

off to the "Mississippi" yesterday, and Ba Rio-se, 馬良才 seem to have no jurisdiction in this case. Besides the above sentences, our friend, the old mayor of Napa, Mo Zhiukuring, 毛玉麟, is deprived of pay but retained in office; and four sub-magistrates, Ri Yung-sho, 李永昌, Zhiu Zaidin, 牛在田, Zhia Bunmo, 謝文茂, and Gu Fitsuching, 吳心振, are all turned out of office—all for making a false report of the matter at first, which misled the Regent. It would relieve the state of a great rascal, I think, if Ichirazichi was sent off to the Majicosima with the party, to stay there until he learned to speak the truth.

We gave the officials some other orders, adding an injunction respecting the bell, and the exchange of coins, by which time it was so late that all wished the conference to end. We declined to take their version off to the Commodore, but waited for them to make a draft of the corrected copy. Thus Lewchew is likely to take erelong a more respectable position as a nation than she has hitherto done, and this compact will bring in, I trust, lasting good to these mild and peaceful islanders.

Monday, July 10th.—As we landed this morning, the birds and plants presented to the Commodore were going aboard, and when we reached the town-hall there were the Regent and Treasurer, as if they had been sitting there since we left them on Saturday night. We discussed the various points of the treaty, to most of which they agreed, but made more objection to the conclusion, desiring to have it read that as the Commodore ordered these various points, they humbly consented to allow them; but, as this arrangement was inadmissible, they at last agreed to express it that they consented to it, he signing it first, and they affixing a seal only to authenticate it and avouch their willingness. Fear of China was the only reason they assigned. It was a singular discussion; we desiring to have them sign this document on terms of equality as a sovereign state, and they debating every inch, preferring to own subjection to China and great inferiority to us. They wished us, too, to express, instead of

"western nations," the names of England and France, which we could not do, since that would offend them and be invidious to others, and therefore took it all out, which made it unnecessary to say anything further concerning Mr. Moreton, about whose removal they gave us a long paper. Besides the discussion relating particularly to the treaty, there was some about the exchange of coins, which they still persisted in not having, about the size of the stones for the Monument, and also relating to the bazaar, the whole interspersed and alternating with soups, melons, tea, cakes and other solids, served up to keep us in good spirits. They could take no more effectual way to get rid of us than to let us have whatever we asked for; it would act as well as it did when the Israelites went up out of Egypt.

These consultations were listened to with close attention by the by-standers, but everyone was agog when we opened the two lorgnettes and dressing case to have a peep through them, and the treaty faded in comparison. In this nick of time we told them the Commodore wanted a bell, a big bell, a bell as high as the table, a bell like the one at Ameku-dera, a bell which would make all ring again; and, happily, a bell they straightway promised. It was at Shui, but could be sent for; truly, when it came off to the ship it answered most of the stipulations, but it was cracked, and so was returned in the boat in which it came. I think they must have thought us cracked too, by the way we asked for this bell. If it ever gets to the top of the Monument, won't it utter Perry's glory or folly?

When we returned on board, Perry was passably satisfied with our report; and after dinner I slipped ashore for a stroll with Dr. Green, the first I have had since Simoda's last.

Tuesday, July 11th.—The various agricultural implements intended for the Lewchewans went ashore this morning, and all were arranged in good order in full time to present to the Regent. There was only time to prepare four copies of the treaty in English and Chinese, and the rescript of the Commodore respecting the banishment of Tokisi, the criminal *in re*

Board. This paper was sent to them in reply to their finding, and stated that the Commodore was satisfied with the final examination and decision of the Lewchewan courts, and with the unconditional surrender of the chief criminal to him; he had given him back to them, with the assurance that their promise would be carried into effect, as a warning to the people, who were in future not to seize men making a disturbance, or stone them, or beat them themselves, but were to apprehend them and give them to the authorities to be dealt with according to the decision of the captain and rulers. By this course of procedure good feeling would be maintained.

At noon the band and marines landed at Junk Harbor jetty and marched in martial array up through the market to the main street and then down to the landing place near Capstan Rock, affording an unexpected treat to the townsfolk and market women. At the landing the Commodore met the body and was escorted to the town hall where the Regent and Treasurer had made every preparation for receiving him in style, spreading an awning, setting out tables, and cleaning up the yard. What a doleful story would that yard and room tell if they could speak out all the suffering and injustice done there by the authorities during the past week in the investigation made! But all is covered over and concealed from us, and perhaps it is well that it is so, for we could not help it even if we knew it.

All parties being seated, the list of presents for the Regent and three Treasurers was presented. To the first, a revolver and flask of powder, engraving of the Washington Monument, and all the agricultural implements; the first Treasurer, a dressing table and engraving; the second and third Treasurers, each a lorgnette and engraving; besides fifteen pieces cottons to the old woman aggrieved and assaulted. The copies of the treaty were then signed by Perry and sealed by the Regent, each party taking two. This document is rather an important paper for this people, and will do much to bring them into fuller inter-

course with thir fellow men and show them the benefit of doing so.

The dinner was served up in usual Lewchewan style; first, the table was spread out with ten or twelve small dishes, and then the warm viands brought on, fish in many forms, vegetables, custard, minced meats, kidneys, preparations of flour, and cakes to the number of seventeen. We at last got through them, and managed to extract one laugh from the Regent by telling him that the Commodore would like to take his cook to America and teach him, in return for instructing in Lewchewan cookery, the mode of dressing some of our dishes. He seemed hugely pleased at this, and it was the principal event of the dinner. These islanders exceed the Japanese in cooking dishes suited to our taste, as well as in the variety and care of their feasts. They have, on such occasions, an advantage over their masters in wearing no long, unmanageable swords, too, as well as sitting in chairs instead of on the floor.

We remained about three hours, partaking of all the dishes and enjoying a cool breeze, and left them, they pleased that they had got the Commodore's promise to ask the Governor of Hongkong or England on his return there to send and remove Moreton from the island, and he more delighted at having got the big bell, now at Bettelheim's house, though he had failed in obtaining any coins. The Regent, besides the bell, sent a pretty present to Perry of two bullocks, paper, pipes, cups, jar, cloth and other produce of the country. Altogether, this last interview with the officials was unusually agreeable to all present.

Wednesday, July 12th.—The bell has rung the coins out of hearing, and I suspect the Commodore will now give them up as not to be procured. It was brought aboard safely this morning, and bandaged and welded and canvassed and painted and boxed and strapped, as if it had been a mummy just disentombed and ready to fall to pieces. Won't there be a ringing of Perry's praises when this bell gets to the top of the Monument? However, as it has heretofore rung the orisons of

idols, it is no desecration to it to be made to sound out the praises of men who are more than dumb idols.*

I have been all day at the kung-kwan in Napa explaining the names and uses of the various agricultural implements, while the Lewchewans wrote them. There was a fine plow, a triangular harrow, a fanning mill, a corn cracker, a corn grinder to make indian meal, a cotton gin, a double yoke, various rakes, forks, shovels, spades, etc. Among them was a churn; I asked the Lewchewans to tell me what it was, and after looking at it a long time and considering that as it stood next to the fanning mill it had some affinity with that, they concluded that it was a machine to place sideways and fan people as they dined. It might as well have been so explained as for any use it will be to them as a churn. Most of the others were understood and perhaps some of them will come into use here, but so expensive are most of them as to be beyond the reach of this people, and others are too complicated for them to use for a long time to come. The cotton gin will be thrown away and had better been given to the Chinese.

In the afternoon various articles came in for the bazaar, much the same as were exhibited last year, but rather better and more in quantity. The dollar here is reckoned at 1440 cash, but all things are in proportion to that valuation, so we are served fairly.

Articles of Agreement.

I.—Hereafter, whenever citizens of the United States come to Lewchew, they shall be treated with great courtesy and friendship. Whatever articles these persons ask for, whether from the officers or people, which the country can furnish, shall be sold to them; nor shall the authorities interpose any prohibi-

* The famous monument to Washington at the American capital was not completed until long after Perry's death. The stones collected in Japan, Loo-choo and China are built into its side; the bell, in accordance with the Commodore's wish, was presented in 1858 to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, where it still hangs in an orientalesque frame near one end of Lovers' Lane. It bears an inscription in Chinese telling of its origin.

tory regulations to the people selling ; and whatever either party may wish to buy shall be exchanged at reasonable prices.

II.—Whenever ships of the United States shall come into any harbor in Lewchew they shall be supplied with wood and water, but if they wish to get other articles, they shall be purchaseable only at Napa.

III.—If ships of the United States are wrecked on Great Lewchew, or any of the islands under the jurisdiction of the royal government of Lewchew, the local authorities shall dispatch persons to assist in saving life and property, and preserve what can be brought ashore till the ships of that nation shall come to take away all that may have been saved ; and the expenses incurred in rescuing these unfortunate persons shall be refunded by the nation they belong to.

IV.—Whenever persons from ships of the United States shall come ashore in Lewchew they shall be at liberty to ramble where they please without hindrance, or having officials sent to follow them, or to spy what they do ; but if they violently go into houses, or trifle with women, or force people to sell them things, or do other such like illegal acts, they shall be arrested by the local officers, but not maltreated, and shall be reported to the captain of the ship to which they belong for punishment by him.

V.—At Tumai is a burial ground for the citizens of the United States, where their graves and tombs shall not be molested.

VI.—The government of Lewchew shall appoint skillful pilots who shall be on the lookout for ships appearing off the island ; and if one is seen coming towards Napa, they shall go out in good boats, beyond the reefs, to conduct her to a secure anchorage ; for which service the captain shall pay the pilot five dollars, and the same for going out of the harbor beyond the reefs.

VII.—Whenever ships anchor at Napa the officers shall furnish them with wood at the rate of 3600 copper cash per

1000 catties ; and with water at the rate of 600 copper cash (43 cents) per 1000 catties, or six barrels full, each containing 30 American gallons.

Signed in the English and Chinese languages by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, Commander-in-chief of the United States naval forces in the East India, and China, Japan Seas, and Special Envoy to Japan for the United States ; and by Sho Fu-fing, Superintendent of Affairs (Tsu-li-kwan) in Lewchew, and Ba Rio-si, Treasurer of Lewchew at Shui, for the government of Lewchew ; and copies exchanged this 11th day of July, 1854, or the reign Hien-fung, 4th year, 6th moon, 17th day, at the Town-hall of Napa.

(Signed) M. C. Perry.

(L. S. of the Kingdom of Lewchew.)

In respect to this agreement, whatever it may lack, it contains enough to bind the Lewchewans down to a regard for their fellow-men, and to treating them better than they have heretofore felt obliged to do, which erelong will do them great good.

Thursday, July 13th.—In the morning Mr. Spieden and two or three others of us landed near Capstan Rock to take Mr. Moreton the amount ($275) subscribed for the benefit of the mission here. We found Dr. Bettelheim just going afloat with a boatful of baggage, including chairs, tables, and many things which surprised us in one going where such articles of furniture are plenty ; and on reaching the house, we saw it was bare enough. Mr. Moreton merely remarked in reply to our observation that he thought Dr. Bettelheim would have taken the house too if he could have done so. Something must be wrong about Bettelheim to act in such strange ways, and when we heard how he had claimed half the money given to the mission, and had gone to Edgarton and some other sailors to ask them to whom they supposed they had given their subscriptions, his mercenary spirit was too plain.

I was occupied all day at the bazaar, where some one

hundred dollars' worth was sold, principally of common articles; the assortment was better, far, than last year. The traders committed the whole management to my hands, receiving my accounts of sales without even examining them. We have seen so much better things at Simoda that these look very ordinary.

Friday, July 14th.—Everybody remembered that one year had elapsed since the stirring day when we landed at Gori-hama (perhaps more properly called Kuri-hama 久里濱) in such martial array, and when the Japanese made such efforts to be prepared for any treachery on our part, as we did also on theirs. Now the Treaty is made.

The bazaar was continued till about noon, when all the articles were carried off, and erelong the Regent and two Treasurers came in to have their daguerreotypes taken. Mr. Brown did as well as the glare of the sun and their partinacity in keeping on their light dresses would allow. They utterly refused to go to Moreton's house, for by thus doing they would measurably have acknowledged his existence. Soon after five o'clock Mr. Draper came in to let them know that the boat was ready. The Regent got into his chair, or kago, borne of four, and squatted down at his ease. In the street his retinue marched in front of him, spreading as wide as the street; first, went two men carrying each a *wai buchi*, or bastinado, made of the lower end of a large bamboo, tapering almost to a point, and split rather smaller than the middle, both sides painted red, and in most respects like those used among the Chinese. Next to these flagellants (for to punish evil-doers is their office) came two gong-carriers who gave their instruments two raps in unison; next, two flags, each marked 金鼓, *kin-lu*, or golden drum; and just before the kago, in stately pace, stalked two young pages or secretaries, and between them and the flags were borne two balls of cock's tail-features at the end of poles twelve feet high; what these *omoi* signified, I did not learn. Behind the kago went a boy with a campstool, two bearing each a *waku*, or open frame holding a tent, awning, or something of

that sort. The cap box and pipe-boys came last. Such is the dignity of a Lewchewan grandee, and while he passed, we two were the only persons upright, except the retinue itself. The Treasurers had flags but no gongs.

When they all reached the boat it was curious to see how these attendants contrived to get into the same one with their masters, but except a few in the bow, we stowed them into native craft, and were soon alongside. In the evening there was an entertainment of singing and dancing, with a burlesque of a row in a barber's shop by Ethiopian minstrels, which amused them very much, notwithstanding their constant grave faces. This people, from high to low, put on an air of seriousness, and there is less merriment in the thoroughfares than any place I ever visited. However, when the darkies tumbled over each other and scattered the flour about, even these quakers could not contain themselves. The diversion passed off very well, the evening was calm, and all the natives were ashore by ten o'clock, evidently much amused. Dr. Bettelheim thinks it will furnish talk for the next few years.

Saturday, July 15th.—Early on shore to-day to settle accounts with the authorities, so that there shall be nothing to do to-morrow. They have learned how to charge pretty well, and I hope that the real owners of the provisions, and laborers, too, are beginning to receive some portion of what is paid; we saw, a few days ago, that when the men received five dollars for provisions delivered in this ship they paid over one to the officer in the boat. In settling up for the expenses of taking the coal off to the ship, the Lewchewans estimated 1017 days' work done in the eight days it required to clean the coalshed, while at a large average there were only 45 or 50 laborers actually engaged on shore and in the lighters, a new gang being sent to the shed each day. It appeared, therefore, that the pay one official overseer received a day was equal to ten or twelve common men, there being about eight drivers to urge up the tardy. In this proportion, two poor laborers

take three officials to look after them. Their bill of $129 we reduced to $100, and that of $41 we cut down to $12, since, as it cost only $58 to build the whole shed at first, $12 was plenty for thatching two wings and mending two ends. The Regent was admonished to keep it in order, and a flag was given him to hoist at the depot whenever an American ship came into the harbor, as well as a small one to take off to ships in the Roads when the pilot goes to conduct them in. How unlike this to the ignorance of the Lewchewans when the "Morrison's" flag was unknown, they having never before seen an American flag! In return for the two flags, the interpreter gave me a drawing of the Lewchewan flag, called 巴, and drawn like the triune powers' diagram. He said it was always hoisted by their junks going up to Fuhchau. The coat of arms of Kurokawa is precisely like it.

Some pieces of bullion were exchanged to-day for the coins left at the palace at Shui last February, but, as they were useless as coins, they were all sent back except two hundred Japanese cash; and so the long contested matter was settled, and the Lewchewans carried their point. The two stones were also taken on board this morning, and one of them broken up for holystones, it being utterly unfit and worthless.

I was told to-day that the late Regent, Sho Rai-mo, 尙大謨, whose removal from office caused so much speculation last year when we returned from the Bonin Islands, was still living in Shui; he had resigned his position as Tsu-li-kwan from age, conscious of his inability to undergo the fatigues likely to come upon him through the squadron, and management of all its demands. No coercion was used; it was a voluntary resignation. This removes all the reports we heard then and, from the way I was told, I am inclined to believe it to be true.

It appears that the present and last Regent are both allied to the royal family, whose surname is Sho, and they are cousins. The prince is now eleven years old, and will probably receive his investiture from China in four years; his name is 泰, Sho

Tai. His father died in 1847 aged 38, leaving this son; his name was Sho Iku, 尚育, and he had reigned about ten years. The prince's grandmother, who died a few days after we went to Japan, was the wife of the king regnant when the "Alcestè" was here in 1817; she it was who had been so alarmed when Captain Shadwell went up to Shui that she had been taking broths for seventeen months when we visited the palace in June last year. This palace is an extensive structure, much larger and exhibiting more skill than anything we saw in Japan. It was partly rebuilt, and thoroughly repaired about twenty years ago, but the woodwork is rapidly decaying from the climate, no paint being used upon it, nor anywhere else in Lewchew. Its general design so much resembles a fortress that one can hardly avoid concluding that such was one of the objects in view in building it.

Sunday, July 16th.—Mr. Moreton preached in the "Mississippi" to-day, and Dr. Bettelheim in the "Powhatan." The former remained with his wife to dinner; the latter has not been ashore since he came off with his baggage three days ago, and the coldness between them has attracted general animadversion, most taking sides with Moreton. The thanks he sent to the squadron for their donation was read to the crew of the "Mississippi" to-day, and did him credit. I pray God to protect and bless him in his loneliness and preserve him from unreasonable men who have no faith. I accompanied the party who landed him in the evening, after all communication with shore had been forbidden, and left him and his wife in their new home. The boat's crew left four dollars for their son Philip as they were shoving off—a handsome thing.

The daguerreotypes of the Regent and two Treasurers were sent them to-day with a portrait of Perry's as a parting token of good will. They were doubtless pleased to get them, as well as Ichirazichi, though none were superior. With this closed the visit of the American squadron to Lewchew, but not its effects, nor I hope, its good effects.

The Lewchewan authorities, having learned that their old trouble, Dr. Bettelheim, is leaving, are desirous to get rid of their new one, Mr. Moreton, and gave the Commodore a long paper yesterday, reiterating what they had told him before in respect to both the missionaries. It was written in the names of the Regent and Treasurer, Sho Fu-fing and Ba Rio-si, who say :—

"We earnestly entreat your Excellency to condescend to regard us with kindness and greatly strengthen our affairs by taking away to his own country Moreton, who remains loitering here, in so doing compassionating our little kingdom. It is well known that we are a trifling, unimportant state, a country of no value, whose soil is poor and unproductive, as are likewise all the little islands dependant on it. Not only have they no gold, silver, copper, or iron, but no silk, satin, or pongee; and so meagre are the productions that it is undeserving even of the name or style of a kingdom. Since the days of the Ming dynasty we have been regarded as an outer dependency of the Middle Kingdom, from whose favor we have for ages received investiture for our king, and to which in return we have given tribute. Whenever there has been any important event in our borders, it has reported; whenever the time came around for us to send up the tribute, we have then purchased raw silk and goods to make up into dresses and caps for our various officials, and such medicines and other articles were selected as were necessary for the use of the state. If we were not able to procure enough in this way, we have exchanged our products, as black sugar, spirits, grasscloth, etc., with the island of Tanegasima and friendly neighboring country, where we get things suitable for tribute, and send them to China.

"Such things as are indispensable to us, as rice, grain, iron utensils, cotton, tea, tobacco, vegetable oil, machines, and other articles, are sought for in this island, whereby our necessities are supplied. Yet if the crop of grain here is deficient, people are forced to satisfy their hunger by sweet potatoes, since there is

not a peck or a gill laid by in the country, and in times of storms or drought when the harvest is blighted, lamentable indeed is our condition, for we have nothing to eat and, as a substitute, prepare something from the iron tree (or Cycas) to save ourselves from starvation; or borrow corn from this island to supply our needs.

"Our traders in the market have only for sale tea, tobacco, wax, grass shoes, melons, greens, cotton or grass cloth, old clothes, and other trifling articles of daily use, and this traffic is managed by women, being therefore utterly beneath the notice or glance of other nations. Consequently, when ships from western countries have, during the last few years, often come here, the various articles of daily use they have required (what an assortment they were!) could not be procured in the public markets; we have called the officials and people to Napa, and sent some abroad to places to buy them, or taken other articles out of the public stores, which was reducing the stock laid up for the use of the state, and also hazarding a dearth in the returns of the farmers, both of which was dangerous and troublesome. In the years 1844 and 1846 some French officers came and the Englishman Bettelheim brought his wife and children to dwell here, all of whom needed supplies to be provided, difficult as it was for us to get them. Whenever ships of these nations came in we have made known these circumstances to them, earnestly begging them to take away these persons. The Frenchmen, knowing the sad condition of our country, went back to their own in 1848 and have not hitherto returned here. But Bettelheim has been loitering here ever since, and has just now brought Moreton with his family to dwell in his stead, so that our people have no rest, our impoverished land no relief.

"Learning lately that your Excellency has control over the ships of all western nations in the East Indian, China, and Japan Seas, and that none of them can go here and there to other countries without your orders, we have thus minutely stated our

unhappy condition, and humbly look up to your abounding kindness, entreating that when your fine ships leave, you will take Moreton with you away back to his own land. Then will rulers and people be lifted up, and all will feel the effects of your great kindness, and wish you the happiness of seeing a thousand autumns."

Whether the Lewchewans will do anything to Mr. Moreton to rid themselves of him I think very unlikely; indeed, I rather think these repeated applications are urged by their Japanese rulers, who may change a little on hearing what has been done there. The mission certainly has great difficulties in the passive resistance the people offer, and needs the Arm of its Almighty Protector to guide and shield it.*

Thursday July 20th.—Ningpo.

We left the harbor betimes on Monday last, being my sixth departure from Lewchew, and accompanied the Commodore till about eleven o'clock, when he took his leave and left us to go on our way to Ningpo. The captain took his course northwest towards Video Island, which was made yesterday morning, and a clear day enabled him to get down to the anchorage off Kintang, below Lukong, before sunset. The day was intensely hot, increased as it was by the great fires we carried in our furnaces, and everybody was glad to see the sun disappear.

Two boats left the ship at sunrise this morning and, aided by a strong current, soon entered the Yung River and stopped at a custom-house landing at Chinhai. The tide was so far spent, however, that no boats could be got of a suitable size to take us up to Ningpo against the tide, and nothing remained but to pull the twelve miles before us. A tedious, burning pull it was, and the sun had passed meridian before we reached Mr. Rankin's house, almost exhausted with the sweltering heat's glare, thermometer 97°. After seven months of sojourn on

* Mr. Moreton and his family remained in Napa about two years when the mission was abandoned.

shipboard, it was very enheartening to be once more in the cheerful company of one's countrymen, and join in praise and prayer. We found the missionaries at Ningpo all well, two invalids, Dr. and Mrs. Macgowan having gone to Chusan to recruit. We had, as we soon learned, come at a most opportune time, not less to the surprise than the joy of our friends, for only a few days had elapsed since they had been placed in considerable danger by the violent proceedings of Captain Lopez, commanding the Portuguese corvette "Don Joao Island," then lying off the consul's. The circumstances are briefly these:

For some years the Portuguese lorchas have carried on a thriving business in convoying Chinese junks up and down the coast, in which they have committed so many atrocious acts against their customers, as well as the people along the coast generally, that they are losing it, and the Canton junks refuse to take their protection. The Portuguese stigmatize these men as pirates, and have had a number of collisions with them and their vessels, in which lives have been lost on both sides. This has created bad feeling, and the Portuguese consul Marquis, finding that his cause was losing ground, sent to Macao for the corvette. She came up, and the Canton men began to prepare for resistance. Things went on from bad to worse, the consul and captain thinking themselves invincible, till the latter in an evil hour took his barque into the north or Tsz'ké branch of the river, nearly abreast of the houses of the American missionaries, and off the line of Canton junks on the other side of the river under the city walls. On the 10th he opened a fire upon them, having given no foreigners any notice of his design, and sure that many of his balls would go into the city, while, if the junks returned his fire, their balls would fly here and there among the houses of the Americans, putting them in imminent danger. However, the Chinese left their boats and escaped without much injury, as did also our countrymen; but many balls went from the corvette into the city, injuring dwellings and destroying five or six people. In one case an old

man was hit, and his son, walking on, heard that he was wounded and went back to assist him, when a second ball killed them both. The people of Ningpo were naturally terrified at these proceedings and began to pack up their valuables and clear out, while the Tautai was totally at a loss what course to take. He had a conference with Mr. Meadows and Dr. McCartee and wanted them to promise that an English or American steamer should come down, which of course neither of them could do. No one could tell what a boasting Portuguese captain might do in such circumstances, and this position of affairs rendered the "Powhatan's" arrival a matter of congratulation to all, especially to Mrs. Rankin, as her husband showed us a ball or slug which had hit the house. So unprepared were they all for our appearance that it was some time before they could be assured that it was not the "Susquehanna." A letter was drawn up by Lieutenant Pegram in the course of the day to send to Captain Lopez, but as we were told that a conference was to take place on the morrow between him and the Tautai, he decided to submit it first to Captain McCluney, pending the result of this interview.

Such was the hap we found at Ningpo. Our company was distributed around, Mr. Perry and the surgeon going to McCartee's house, Nicholson and the purser to Way's, Captain Jones to Martin's,* Mr. Randall and King to Goddard's, and Mr. Pegram and I to Rankin's, Cobbold taking Bettelheim. After dinner we took a walk through the town with McCartee, and at last, after twenty-one years in China, I have this day been inside of one of her cities. The doctor was greeted by many persons, and we went through various streets and into many shops, everywhere finding a pleasant reception. The walk was prolonged until darkness overtook us, and we were glad to get out of the hot streets into the cool breeze on the river and the cooler verandahs of the houses. I found the streets of Ningpo more dilapidated, the houses less substantial, and shops,

* Rev. Dr. W. A. P. Martin.

stalls and markets generally less extensive and bustling than I had expected, but probably much of the dullness was owing to the late commotion, and something to the time of day. The pái-lau were, many of them, beautiful structures, and if there was more space around them to set them off, they would equal in effect many of the porticos and pillars of European cities.

Saturday, July 22nd.—Off Chinhai.

Yesterday about noon Captain McCluney sent off the launch containing twelve marines, with a howitzer and some ammunition, and his instructions to Lieutenant Pegram to remain in Ningpo until Captain Lopez gave the most satisfactory assurances that American lives and property should not again be jeoparded by his proceedings. The boat reached town about sunset, and there was some stir in the heretofore quiet premises of McCartee as the marines marched into his yard, and the sailors drew the brass fieldpiece over the pavement. There were about eighty persons now about the mission houses from the ship, all of whom were soon accommodated with as comfortable sleeping places as could be wished. The only thing mortifying to us in the eyes of the Chinese about the houses was the drunken conduct of a few of the sailors.

This morning Lieutenant Nicholson took the letter to Captain Lopez, who promised an answer as soon as he had conferred with the consul. In the meantime, nothing could be done, and we hoped he would soon prepare one, for it was desirable to get the men again on board ship out of the sun, of which they seemed to have not the least dread. Near noontide one of them was struck dead, falling like a log on the side of the path, and hardly conscious of any ailment or pain before life was gone. He was alone as he fell, but some of his comrades came up in a few minutes and carried him into Dr. McCartee's dispensary. There was nothing to do for him but give him a decent burial, which was done about sunset. Thus quickly was this poor man called to leave this world; he had drunk but little during the morning, though he was notorious

for violent conduct when in liquor, and had already given trouble by going into a shop at Simoda, where he broke open saki pots and wounded a Japanese who tried to prevent his violent proceedings. Alas, for James Clark!

Sunday, July 23rd.—The captain of the corvette had sent in a letter which was deemed satisfactory, and is likely to prevent his doing anything more which will endanger the lives and property of the Americans living at Ningpo. Captain McCluney's intention was to force him to respect both if he hesitated the least, for his conduct had been such as put him without the limits of all respect, and treat him like a brigand.

Friday, August 11th.—Canton.

In seven months from the day I left I am permitted to return to this city in health. The steamer reached Hongkong in thirty-five hours from Amoy, and I soon learned from Dr. Morrow that all my dear family were well. I went to Macao to see them on Tuesday evening in the "Fennimore Cooper" and spent Wednesday and Thursday in Macao. How pleasant was the meeting, those know who have been long separated. God had answered all my prayers for their health and safety, had provided them a spacious house, and loaded us all with benefits. The inspection of the curiosities brought with me furnished amusement during the two days I was there, and their distribution gratified the givers and receivers in an equal degree.

I came up to-day in the "Mississippi" and reached Canton at dark, the whole party soaking wet from exposure to a furious squall.

Thus ends my expedition to Japan, for which praise be to God!

After the reading of selections from the Journal, the Chairman asked if any present had any questions or remarks to offer. Rev. E. R. Miller said that he had been told by a Japanese that he went to Uraga(?) with the express purpose of killing Commodore Perry, who, as he believed, had come on an errand which tended to the overthrow of Japan. Just as he reached the deck of the U.S. man-of-war, one of the petty officers slipped and would have fallen overboard, if the Commodore had not caught him and helped him. The would-be assassin was so impressed by the fact that a man of such high rank as Commodore Perry should exert himself to save the life of a subordinate, that he abandoned the attempt upon Perry's life.

Mr. Miller also stated that, because Williams had fallen into a bad habit of frequently using *tadashi* for "but," the Japanese gave him the nickname of *Tadashi San*, or Mr. But!

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms in the Methodist Publishing House, No. 1. Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. Wednesday, October 20, 1909. In the absence of the President, H.E. Sir Claude MacDonald, the chair was occupied by Prof. E. H. Vickers, Vice-President for Tokyo. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced that Rev. A. W. Place, of Tokyo, Miss Mary Stowe, of Tottori, and Mr. C. H. Rastall, of Kobe, had been elected members of the Society. He also announced that Mr. R. S. Miller, of the American Embassy, Tokyo, had resigned as a member of the Council, on account of his departure from Japan; and that the vacancy had been filled by the election of Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., LL.D., just returned from America. The chair then called upon Mr. E. W. Clement to read selections from his work on "Japanese Chronology."

(The paper will appear as a Supplement to this volume of the Transactions.)

After Mr. Clement had finished, the subject was thrown open for discussion, when Rev. C. F. Sweet read some "Notes" taken from an article on Japanese chronology in a recent magazine. These notes supplied one more explanation, by a Japanese scholar, of what may be a more rational chronology of the early history of this Empire. That hypothesis would place the founding of the Empire by Jimmu Tenno at 24 B.C.

After the Chairman had expressed the thanks of the Society for the paper, he declared the meeting adjourned.

Books and Transactions received during the Summer Vacations, 1909.

Everyday Japan, by A. Lloyd (presented).

Journal Royal Asiatic Society, July 1909, containing, *inter alia*, articles on Pythagoras and Transmigration, and the Manikyala Inscription, the latter of which is of special interest in view of the recent discovery of Sakya Muni's relics.

Zeitschift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft. Vol. lxiii. Nos. 2 and 3. containing article on the Aioka inscriptions.

Geographical Journal, July, August, 1909. The July number contains an account by Dr. M. A. Stein of his Explorations in Central Asia, 1906-8.

Bulletin de la Societe Franco-Japonaise de Paris. Articles on Japanese Swords; The Ideas which inspired the Japanese Restoration Movement; The Japanese Budget for 1909-10. This valuable publication will, it is hoped, be henceforth on our regular list of Exchanges.

Journal of the Siam Society. Vol. v., pt. 1.; vol. vi., pt. 1 and 2.

Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise de l'Extreme Orient: ix 2, containing, *inter alia,* a Study on the lyric Drama of Japan by Mons. N. Peri, and reviews of Prof. Groot's "Religious System of China," and of Mons. Bourgeois "Langue Japonaise." There is also a summarized chronicle of Japanese affairs.

Melanges Japonais. No. 23, July 1909. Articles on Tenrikyo, Hayashi Razan, Japanese Companies, Religious Press of Japan, Fortune-telling, and Miscellanies. A most interesting number.

Journal of North China Branch of Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. xl, 1909, Archæology of China's Ancient Capitals, Chinese Law and Equity, an Ascent by Mr. Morrison (*Niitake yama* in Formosa).

Bulletin American Geog. Soc'y. August, 1909.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society. No. lii.

Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.—
Journal, vol. li., pts. 3 and 4.
Transactions, vol. lvii.

Canadian Institute. April, 1909.

University of Colorado Studies. vi, 4.

Proc. Royal Society. A 82, A 556, 557.
B 81, B 548.

Proc. Royal Society Edinburgh. xxix. pt., 5.

Harvard Mus. Comp. Zool. lii., 10, 11, 12.

Chinese Recorder. August, 1909; September, 1909.

Science of Man. July, 1909.

Acts of Orientalist Congress, Copenhagen (presented).

Magnetic Survey of South Africa (presented).

Proceedings of the United States Museum, vol. 34., containing an interesting paper with plates on Jewish Ceremonial.

This and a number of Smithsonian Institution and other publications have been sent to the Keiogijuku Library.

September 29th, 1909.

Ethnographic Survey of India.
Anthropometric Data of N. W. Borderland.
Anthropometric Data of Beluchistan.

Craniological Data from Indian Museum.

Geol. Survey of India. xxxvii., pt. 3.

Geographical Journal, 1909, September (containing Dr. Aurel Stein's article on Explorations in Central Asia, 1906-8(.

Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. xxxix., 1909.

Science of Man. August, 1909.

Russian Geographical Soc. vol. xxxiv.

O. Nachod: Literature of Japan for the year 1907. A most painstaking summary, appearing in *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft.* From the author.

Harvard Museum of Comp. Zool. lii. 13.

Chinese Record. October, 1909 (article on Chinese Students in Japan).

Geological Survey of India xxxvii, 1, 2, 3. (from the Government of India).

Journal of the Russian Orientalists' Society, Harbin.

A. Lloyd, Hon. Librarian.

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